Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-186
Wednesday
25 September 1991

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FBIS-SOV-91-186 *25 September 1991*

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

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Worldwide Issues

Pankin Addresses UN, Notes 'De-ideologization'

LD2509023591 Moscow TASS in English 0136 GMT 25 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations September 24 TASS—Boris Pankin, the Soviet foreign minister and head of the Soviet delegation to the 46th session of the United Nations General Assembly, addressed the forum here today.

"Being present in this hall of the U.N. General Assembly, talking to other participants and looking in their eyes makes one almost physically aware of the fact that today the representatives of the Soviet Union, which is transforming itself into a union of sovereign states, are viewed, and rightly so, as envoys of a new nation. A nation on the threshold of a new era in its centuries-old history: in the political, philosophical, international, legal and day-to-day meaning of these words.

"We have just gone through a purifying storm: the defeat of a criminal coup, and everything that took place in connection with the recent congress of people's deputies. A combination of two factors predetermined the failure of the coup plotters. One is related to democratic achievements of Soviet perestroyka of the past few years and the strong democracy forces which prevented a retreat into the past.

"The other is a new relationship between our country and the rest of the world, and world-wide support for our democracy. Those days in August have definitively convinced us of one thing: the quest for freedom has become the central trend both in our development and the development of the entire world. Only a society that gives full protection to individual freedoms and rights can be prosperous and dynamic.

"Our country will never be the same. Where an ossified empire once stood, a new union of free and truly sovereign nations bound together by common aspirations is being born. Democracy, human rights, openness toward each other and to the entire civilized world will be its main frame."

Pankin dwelt in detail on a number of most important aspects session participants will discuss. A concerted and essentially collective regulation of international relations in the areas of security and disarmament crucial for the destiny of the world becomes a priority in the activities of the U.N. and the world community, he said.

Next in line is a joint elaboration and implementation of the concept of the next stage of disarmament, Pankin noted. Touching on the disarmament issues, the minister pointed to the need for making military potentials exclusively defense-oriented, non-proliferation, and reduction of nuclear tests with a view of phasing them out completely, the establishment of a U.N. register of conventional arms sales and supplies, and the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons.

The head of the Soviet delegation pointed out to the good prospects for the solution of regional conflicts, including those in the Middle East, Afghanistan and Cambodia.

"The philosophy of new international solidarity, which is finding its way into practice, signifies a de-ideologization of the United Nations. In renewing our organization we should once and for all leave behind the legacy of the ice age like the obnoxious resolution equating zionism to racism."

"Much has been done by the United Nations, yet the problems and tasks awaiting solutions are more numerous. They all fully reflect the challenges and risks which the international community is facing today," the Soviet foreign minister said in conclusion.

Meets With Foreign Ministers at UN

LD2409134391 Moscow Tass International Service in Russian 0300 GMT 24 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kokchetkov]

[Text] United Nations, 24 Sep (TASS)—Boris Pankin, USSR minister of foreign affairs, held a number of bilateral meetings on 23 September, including talks with Amr Musa, Egyptian minister of foreign affairs; Taro Nakayama, Japanese minister of foreign affairs; Geza Jeszenszky, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs; New Zealand Prime Minister James Brendan Bolger; and Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, Spanish of foreign affairs. Bilateral and international problems were touched upon in the course of these meetings.

Summing up the results, B.D. Pankin told the TASS correspondent that, in the conversation with the Egyptian minister of foreign affairs; Egyptian President Husni Mubarak's visit to the USSR, which will take place in the next few days, was discussed. During the visit, [words indistinct] assistance from Egypt and other countries in the region for the development of the Soviet economy will be discussed in particular. Preparations for a conference in the Near East will also be examined. The Egyptian minister gave a positive assessment of the recent joint Soviet-U.S. statement on Afghanistan, while B.D. Pankin singled out the question of the liberation of Soviet POW's. Referring to good contacts with many sides involved in the conflict in Afghanistan, A. Musa promised all kinds of support and assistance in this important matter.

B.D. Pankin reported that he and the Japanese minister of foreign affairs discussed that official's upcoming visit to the USSR during their meeting. "We recognized the need under the present conditions to accelerate the

process of preparing the peace treaty and to resolve more quickly all existing problems, including territorial ones, the existence of which we acknowledge," the minster noted. The issues which will be discussed include the peace treaty, the creation of an atmosphere of trust between the two countries, the sharp expansion of economic cooperation, and questions of humanitarian aid.

The conversation with the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs touched upon the need to bring the USSR's relations with this country and the other states of East Europe out of the complex situation which was created as a result of the changes in all the countries involved, the rejection of the CEMA, and with the new system of payments in freely convertible currency and the transition to world prices still working badly, B.D. Pankin said. "We are examining all the possibilities in this connection, including the idea of trilateral cooperation which was put forward over a year ago by Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs. According to his plan, a certain proportion of appropriations for aid to east European countries would be allocated for financing exports of the most essential food and industrial goods from those states to the USSR. The financial means would be targeted not directly at the USSR but at the countries of east Europe. In turn they would export a vast amount of goods to the USSR. Everyone is now beginning to understand that such an extreme measure could be very effective. The Western countries could feel secure at the present time. In general they fear competition from goods from East Europe and therefore protect themselves with taxes and customs duties. The question of completing talks on a bilateral state treaty was also raised with the Hungarian minister. We are also discussing such draft treaties with Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Bulgaria."

The Soviet minister reported noticeable movement in the final stage of the work on these treaties. He pointed out that the current atmosphere, after the defeat of the putsch and the decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies, was very favorable for the USSR's relations with the countries of East Europe.

This goodwill, according to B.D. Pankin, was also felt during talks with the prime minister of New Zealand and with the Spanish foreign minister, who expressed his country's readiness to provide additional credits to the USSR, if needed, for the purchase of essential items.

"We feel a surge of sympathy toward our country which is connected with our readiness, clearly expressed during the historic days of August, to follow the democratic path and to set up a state governed by law and a democratic society," the Soviet minister noted.

Foreign Ministry's Grachev Gives Press Briefing

On Gorbachev's Concerns, Agenda

LD2409154791 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 24 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Viktor Runov and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—The Soviet president has lately focused on internal political problems. He is especially concerned about the preparation of the new economic treaty, which will soon be submitted for signing to the leaders of separate republics, the new presidential spokesman Andrey Grachev, appointed to the post on Monday, told his first news briefing here today.

According to Grachev, the president intended to publish today the composition of the political consultative council he has established.

The composition of the Soviet Union's delegation for talks with the Baltic countries is ready for approval. The president's subsequent moves include the approval of the presidential council for promoting enterprise and the formation of a committee to expedite land reform, Gorbachev said.

The spokesman stressed that the president had received with interest information concerning the results of talks in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh—a major frontier reached on the strenuous way towards stabilizing the situation in that region.

According to Andrey Grachev, the president is increasingly alarmed by information coming from Georgia. He is worried by reports on the expanding political conflict in that republic, facts of trampling on human rights and violation of democratic freedoms there.

The president's upcoming international agenda is also very intense. He is due to meet President Husni Mubarak of Egypt and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky soon. The settlement in the Middle East and Yugoslavia are also high on his agenda.

As before, much attention will be given to disarmament.

On Tajikistan Situation, Honecker

LD2509011291 Moscow TASS in English 0026 GMT 25 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Ryabikin and Viktor Runov]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—Judging by the experience of solving inter-ethnic conflicts in the USSR, conflicting sides are rarely able, if at all, to reach accord on their own, Soviet presidential spokesman Andrey Grachev told journalists during his first briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre today.

The centre's function as the mediator or the supreme authority is necessary in any case, he stressed.

As conflicts evolve towards a political pattern, the role, which the future centre is intended and able to play, will enhance.

On the situation in Tajikistan, Grachev said that a number of decisions had been made in the republic in an

unconstitutional way, including on banning the Communist Party and toppling monuments to Lenin. The protest action that erupted in that republic, he said, is directed mainly with the ways these decisions were carried out.

Asked about the fate of the former East German leader Erich Honecker, Grachev said the Soviet Foreign Ministry never denied its role and does not stand apart in deciding Honecker's fate.

Indeed, he said, a few days ago, a member of Honecker's family had contacted consular officials in the German Embassy in Moscow.

'International Review' Views East Europe Ties

LD2309170291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1230 GMT 22 Sep 91

["International Review: The World This Week' program with Yevgeniy Osipovskiy, not further identified; "our observer" Viktor Levin; and report from Budapest by correspondent Sergey Shevykin, including recorded interview with RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by Shevykin in Budapest "made some time ago"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted: Osipovskiy and Levin discuss the work done so far at the Moscow CSCE conference on the human dimension held in Moscow]

[Osipovskiy] Let me now move on to another topic. I think that too little attention is being devoted now to our country's relations with the former socialist countries. Here is a report on this topic prepared by our correspondent in Budapest Sergey Shevykin during Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's visit to Hungary. This visit ended some time ago, but I can assure you that the material has not lost its topicality.

[Shevykin] As far as I am aware, this is the first visit by the head of Russian diplomacy to Hungary since the Soviet Union came into being, during the period of Soviet power in our country. [passage omitted: Shevykin says it comes at a complicated period for the USSR and for Soviet-Hungarian relations] The Russian Federation has now achieved much more independence in foreign policy matters. How do you see the development of the new Russian-Hungarian relations, which are going to be an integral part of Soviet-Hungarian relations? On what principles are they to be based to ensure that ideological premises are completely abandoned? What ways do you see of ensuring that our countries can cooperate and develop jointly like the rest of civilized Europe?

[Kozyrev] I think you have already outlined an answer to that question: I think that the answer is knocking at the door, as it were. Above all, we have to abandon the residue of ideological prejudice. Those who have hitherto led the Soviet Union, the junta, were in actual fact the top leaders of the central bodies, and those who actively cooperated with them before the coup. Those three days were a moment of truth, if you like. In practice they pursued their policies for a long time, despite the open objections of President Yeltsin and, one hopes, despite the endeavors of the president of the country to row in the direction he wanted to go. That at least is as he says now. In other words, they were firmly convinced that the democratic revolutions in Eastern Europe, including here in Hungary, represented a blow and an ideological defeat for us, and that we should now keep these countries under suspicion. They had been our genuine allies and friends in the socialist camp, but now they should be under suspicion.

This is the reason, in particular, for the demand made by the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs that all these countries should have provisions in their treaties, saying that the eastern and central European states will not join any alliances or other agreements hostile to the Soviet Union. For a start, there was the issue of what was meant by agreements hostile to the Soviet Union. For instance, we regard NATO as a hostile organization. It was an organization set up in the period of confrontation, a confrontation that was in large measure brought about by our own policies, the policies of ideological expansion, and I must regard it today simply as an element of stability and cooperation among Western states. This is particularly true of the European Community and other organizations which are simply economic, cultural, or political bodies, and represent no threat to us. So the first point isn't a case of what are these threats?

The second point is that the formula expressed a tacit suspicion, a tacit mistrust. We do not have such a mistrust toward the eastern European democracies. On the contrary, we regard them as our natural allies, as countries that are more compatible with us than any other regimes which are still ideological in nature, particularly those which used to be members of the so-called socialist camp. So that says it all.

I had an opportunity yesterday, in the course of a conversation with my counterpart, the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, to satisfy myself that such problems will not exist between us. We have a completely different aim. Our aim is not a settling of ideological scores, but to find a way of jointly surmounting the legacy of the nightmarish totalitarian regime that fell to our lot, through an exchange of experience and mutual assistance; through advice, above all, and also by other means. We need to find joint ways out of our economic difficulties and not take revenge on each other and punish these East European countries. [passage omitted: the previous authorities were keen to take a tough line on world prices in trade with Eastern Europe, yet the Soviet Union itself was not ready to trade in world prices]

Yesterday we were discussing the option of providing state support to set up a genuinely private commercial company to organize Russian-Hungarian trade. There could be barter schemes, there could be special types of relations, which in the final analysis would be expressed

in terms of world prices. But neither side can pay. There are enterprises in our country interested in trade with enterprises here in Hungary. But our enterprise may need wagons while itself producing lipstick, to give a crude example. It is preposterous to swap wagons for lipstick. But if you create a chain of other participants, they can all benefit in the end. So a coordination center is needed. [passage omitted: it must not be a bureaucratic body, because bureaucrats are only good at issuing commands]

At the center of this coordinating mechanism must be a businessman or entrepreneur, not a bureaucrat. He will be receiving a commission, as in the whole of the normal world. He will be working as a middle-man. [passage omitted: there is much opportunity for commercial activity of this sort]

[Shevykin] I believe that Russia already has economic missions in Hungary, in particular a Russian trading house. What about diplomatic missions? Does Russia intend to have its own separate diplomatic missions in Hungary and the other countries of East Europe, in other countries, in all regions, or will Russia's interests be represented by Soviet embassies?

[Kozyrev] You remember our saying that the people cannot feed two parties. It is the same thing here. If the people are now asked to maintain several embassies, this will be extremely expensive. I don't think this is necessary. In general the question is: Do we need USSR embassies which do not reflect the interests of the republics? What kind of embassies are these, and whose interests do they reflect? Up to now they have reflected the interests of this unitary center, in other words monopolistic departments, three or four monopolistic departments, and, basically, the interests of those self-same leaders who headed those departments.

Meanwhile, the republics groped their way around absolutely helplessly. Sometimes the embassies could help them a bit, with lordly condescension as it were, and sometimes they could not. Again it all depended on ideological criteria. If they liked you, if they thought it the right thing to do, they helped. If they thought proposals were too radical and democratic, they turned them down. I encountered this myself.

So, our first objective is to decide whether we need Soviet Embassies of this kind. I think, on the whole, Soviet Embassies are staffed by quite competent people. Many of them, especially in the middle and younger ranks, are motivated by patriotism and support for democracy. Furthermore, this is a tried and tested system of communications, buildings, and so on and so forth. All this simply needs to be placed at the service of those republics which join the new, reinvigorated Union. The embassies should serve our Soviet interests. The embassies belong to the Union. We are dropping the words Soviet and socialist. At any rate they belong to the Union of Republics. That is how it should be.

In addition to this—not instead of this, but in addition to this—we could indeed have our own separate Russian missions, independent ones as it were, within a number of key embassies in countries which are very important to us. But this is not a substitution of one for the other, as the former leadership of the Union Foreign Ministry has been trying to suggest up to now. They said that everything will stay the same in our embassies. We alone are in command. We will appoint the ambassadors, and so on. A huge Russia, for instance, a huge Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and so on, will have a few individual representatives, so to speak, attached to the embassies. What then will the embassies represent? They will represent central Moscow, within the limits of the garden ring.

Therefore, I consider that what we need most of all is a radical and systematic reform of the Union's Foreign Ministry and the Union's embassies. Then we will see. However, I do not think there is any need to partition the kitchen garden into several embassies, to partition several embassies which will, basically, represent one and the same thing—the Soviet Union and Russia as the biggest Republic, plus two or three of the bigger Republics which join this Union. I don't think there is any need to do this. At any rate I don't see any need for it at the moment. But if this does become necessary, if we reform the Union's missions, and finally decide that there is in fact a need for separate embassies as well, then we will give this some thought.

[Shevykin] In that case I have a final question. Has Russia's Foreign Ministry given any attention to the specific financial questions connected with the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary? Is it familiar with this problem?

[Kozyrev] Well, you know, this was all incomprehensibly held up, under the old system of course. Therefore, I think that we will now have to investigate this too, together with the Union's Ministry of Defense and its new leadership. Our representatives will have to be involved in this too. Certainly we must sort out this question. Naturally, real interests are involved here. All this has to be done in a way which does not harm our servicemen. Their interests must be paramount. But there is, nevertheless, a question of political morality. The point is that nobody invited our forces to enter these countries, in particular Hungary in 1956. They went there to basically crush a democratic revolution. To ask for money now is immoral. Again this was the position of the old Union leadership which tried to get money in return for this. But we have to understand that this is a morally indefensible position. You cannot expect money for sending troops into someone else's country and trying to crush democratic reforms. Some sort of decency has to be observed. These moral factors have to be borne in mind.

[Osipovskiy] Goodbye and all the best.

United States & Canada

Foreign Ministry Official on Bush Speech at UN

LD2409155191 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 24 Sep 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—"We believe it is not right to equate Zionism with racism," Yuriy Fedotov, deputy chief of the international organisations directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told TASS. He commented on the speech U.S. President George Bush delivered at the session of the U.N. General Assembly on Monday, calling for the abrogation of a corresponding resolution of the U.N.

"In our opinion it would be preferable to adopt a decision which, without formally annulling the 1975 Resolution 3379 would actually make it invalid and would thus ease tension about the matter and help consolidate positive tendencies in settling the Arab-Israeli conflict," Fedotov said.

Soviet diplomats believe the "flutter" about that resolution caused by Israel's striving to annul it creates a negative background for an international Middle-East peace settlement conference. But it would be without precedent for the United Nations to abrogate its decisions. This would mean an attempt to rewrite history.

An acceptable solution which would not contradict the United Nations procedure is now looked for. It was proposed to put Resolution 3379 to vote again to enable members of the world community to vote against it. It was also suggested to instruct the U.N. secretary-general to draw up a list of operating resolutions, which would not include the documents that became irrelevant, among them Resolution 3379.

It is also suggested that a generalised resolution making the 1975 resolution outdated could be adopted on the basis of consensus. There were such precedents during the solution of the Cambodian and Afghan problems.

In this context, the U.S. President's idea could be viewed as one of working suggestions with its own right to exist, just as others.

Gates on New CIA Concerns at Senate Hearings

PM2509102991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Sep 91 Union Edition p 5

[Correspondent A. Blinov report: "R. Gates' Second Attempt. U.S. Senate Discusses Candidacy for Post of CIA Director"]

[Excerpts] Washington—The U.S. Congress' Senate Committee on Intelligence has begun hearings on the question of Robert Gates' approval as director of the CIA. [passage omitted]

Some senators raised the question of the CIA's mistakes and blunders. In the opinion of Senator W. Bradley, the CIA has juggled with intelligence data in political interests and has not restructured itself in accordance with the changes in the international situation. Thus, it assiduously exaggerated the thesis of the "Soviet threat" and, at the same time, "overlooked" Iraq's dangerous war preparations. Nor did CIA analysts foresee the possibility of radical internal changes in the USSR.

R. Gates partly admitted his oversight, particularly as a specialist on the Soviet Union. "I paid too much attention to the USSR's foreign activity and not enough to the internal situation," he confessed.

The CIA is now taking account of the ending of the "cold war" and restructuring its work accordingly, R. Gates affirmed. But... the support of Congress is extremely important to intelligence staffers. Particularly as they still "encounter challenges, anxieties, and risk."

"We still cannot divert our attention from the Soviet Union, although it is obvious that our priorities and concerns have changed," R. Gates said. The situation in the USSR, R. Gates believes, "contains a promise of democracy and economic transformation but, at the same time, it contains the seeds of serious instability, chaos, and civil war." [passage omitted]

TASS Reports Nuclear Test in Nevada

LD2009125291 Moscow TASS in English 1148 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] San Francisco September 20 TASS—The United States on Thursday conducted a nuclear test at the Nevada test range. Energy Department spokesman Jim Boyer said the blast measured below 20 kilotons. The test was carried out on the order of an atomic laboratory in Los Alamos to study the impact of radiation on various military equipment.

This has been the sixth announced nuclear test explosion at the Nevada test range this year. An underground nuclear blast with an yield of up to 150 kilotons was staged there six days ago.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Opposition Proposed Moscow Visit Previewed

OW2409195191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Spokesmen of moderate groupings of the Afghan opposition are coming to Moscow for talks in the near future, as announced by a high-ranking official of the USSR Foreign Ministry. In a talk with INTERFAX correspondent he suggested the matter would be settled in two or three weeks. The groupings represented in Moscow will probably include Mojaddedi, Rabbani, and

Gaylani. The diplomat didn't rule out the presence of somebody from Hekmatyar's and Sayyaf's groupings which are considered extremist.

'Moderate' Groups To Attend

OW2409190091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 24 Sep 91

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Representatives of moderate groups of the Afghan opposition intend to visit Moscow soon for talks. This was announced by a responsible employee of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. In conversation with a correspondent from "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] the diplomat surmised that the question of when exactly the visit would take place would be decided within the next two to three weeks. Judging from everything, the groups Mojaddedi, Rabbani and Gaylani will be represented at the meeting in Moscow. In the diplomat's opinion, one cannot exclude the possibility that representatives from the Hekmatyar and Sayyaf groups could come to Moscow as well. This, as the diplomat explained, would be very good. There is no certainty in this, however, in as much as these groups hold extremist positions. "Whatever the case may be, we are ready to hold talks with whoever comes. Any conversation around a table is better than an exchange by means of guns," remarked the man from the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

He also said that the Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin is conducting a series of meetings in New York with representatives from the USA, Pakistan, Iran and other countries, with the goal of deciding the Afghan problem.

As the diplomat explained, freeing Soviet prisoners of war remains one of the priorities in resolving the Afghan dilemma. Normalizing the situation in Afghanistan cannot, however, be reduced to this one question. Settlement is an entire package of agreements. Not only is it important to free our people, but also to secure the end of bloodletting in Afghanistan, and to secure the beginnings of inter-afghani dialogue. In the diplomat's opinion, the threat of "Lebanesation" in Afghanistan exists. It is necessary to prevent the conversion of Afghanistan into a "patchwork quilt", which would be threatening to the borders of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union's efforts are directed mainly at reaching this goal. Moscow and Washington have already taken the first step, announcing a joint agreement about Afghanistan, calling for the process of settlement to be stimulated. Starting on the 1st of January, 1992, the USSR and USA will cooperate to end arms supplies to Afghanistan. "However," the diplomat remarked, "now much depends not only and not so much on us, as on the Afghan opposition." Answering steps, in his opinion, should follow from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia.

Restraint Urged on Iraqi Inspection Issue

LD2409154191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Excerpts] The United States has urged the UN Security Council to bring a 48-hour ultimatum against Iraq. During that time Baghdad should give clear assurances that it will not block the work of UN experts who should determine whether the Iraqi authorities possess technologies for the production of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. Otherwise, Washington threatens to send military planes to accompany UN helicopters with inspectors. The date of the ultimatum has not been defined yet. However, officials in Washington said that the United States might start a military action against Iraq even without waiting for the Security Council decision.

Yuriy Solton makes these comments on the situation in Iraq:

[Solton] President Saddam Husayn is playing a dangerous game. One gets the impression that Baghdad deliberately provokes a new armed conflict in the gulf, evidently hoping to at least morally get revenge for the loss of the war acting in the eyes of the world community as a victim of an attack.

Several times the Security Council has urged Iraq not to block the work of international experts since they are under a decision of the United Nations to which Baghdad agreed. Iraqi officials made promises, pledged allegiance to UN resolutions, but continue to block the work of inspectors. [passage omitted]

The anxiety caused by the provocative steps of the Iraqi authorities is justified. But should the United States take a hasty military step that can again seriously complicate the situation in the region? Evidently a restrained, well-balanced approach is necessary here.

PRAVDA Assesses U.S.-Israeli Relations

PM2509105191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 91 Single Edition p 7

[Article by Yuriy Glukhov under the "View From Moscow" rubric: "How G. Bush Became an 'Anti-Semite'"]

[Text] Life is full of paradoxes. Treated affectionately in our collapsing Union (remember the meetings in Moscow, former Leningrad [St Petersburg], the Baltics, and Kazakhstan) U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker was met in Israel on his arrival in the Near East... with rotten tomatoes. However, shortly before this another extraordinary event took place.

G. Bush himself was branded a "liar" and an "anti-Semite." The U.S. President was honored with these epithets by Israeli Minister without Portfolio R. Zeevi.

Israeli Defense Minister M. Arens softened the blow by disavowing the statements made by his impassioned colleague at a cabinet meeting. But a certain coolness has made itself felt between the old partners.

As we have already reported, the reason for the quarrel was the U.S. president's decision to temporarily postpone discussion of granting bank loan guarantees worth $10 billion to Israel. The requested funds were earmarked for settling immigrants arriving from the Soviet Union. G. Bush has acted entirely logically. He knew how sorely the Arabs react to Jewish immigration. He knew that the flood of dollars goes toward assimilating Arab lands that have been occupied by Israel, something the United States has constantly opposed since 1977. Is it really necessary to annoy the Arabs when you are preparing, not just with words but in reality, for a Near East settlement and the convening of a peace conference in October? And it is on precisely this mission that J. Baker has once again come to the Near East.

I think the tough position being taken by the U.S. president (and G. Bush has threatened to use his right of veto) has merely helped Baker to build up a greater store of trust in Arab countries. But has he managed to fully overcome the "Israeli barrier" on the road to a conference? Because this barrier really does exist, even with Israel's formal agreement to the convening of a forum (preconditions relating to the composition of the Palestinian delegation, etc). And most important of all, have the Israelis themselves understood the depth of the changes that are taking place in the world?

PRAVDA has already raised the issue of reassessing the USSR's Near Eastern role and the question of recognizing new realities, however painful these may be. To a no lesser extent the same dilemma faces Israel. In the initial emotional reaction to Bush's position the usual stereotype of prevailing U.S.-Israeli relations came into play, where in critical situations the trusty levers of influence on Washington, including the mighty pro-Israeli lobby, were invariably set in motion. But the situation is changing dramatically. The truly dramatic shifts taking place in the Near East situation, which were provoked by the process of collapse in the Soviet Union, will inevitably also affect the seemingly unshakable U.S.-Israeli alliance.

It would be naive to suppose that Bush's actions are voluntary, a sort of whim on the U.S. President's part. "Most Americans support U.S. President G. Bush's decision to postpone granting aid to Israel," ABC anchorman P. Jennings reported. He cited the results of a public opinion poll conducted at the request of the television company. According to these data, 86 percent of those polled were in favor of the U.S. Congress following Bush's call to postpone consideration of Israel's request for four months. Only 12 percent were against.

The conclusion for the Israelis is depressing: Pragmatic Americans are already losing interest in their traditional ally.

There is no point in being surprised and thinking that this turnabout is unexpected. A pro-Israeli policy was always damaging to the United States in its relations with the Arabs and the "third world." It cost Washington dear at a political level. Whenever the Americans resorted to their veto in the UN Security Council, they found themselves in a delicate position. Of course, it was possible to find arguments to justify particular actions of Tel Aviv's, but when these actions eventually came into line with a policy of occupation and annexation of Arab lands and ignoring UN decisions, it became more difficult to justify.

On an economic and military level the pro-Israeli line was also combined with constant subsidies. Every year the United States allocates $3 billion to Israel in the form of aid. And the American taxpayer hardly suffers from an excess of altruism.

On a strategic level the Israeli "landing pad" could be seen by the Pentagon as a reserve, a rescue point, and a place to store weapons for emergencies. But no more than that.

The deep-seated interests of the United States lie in the Arab world, with its oil reserves, with its vast market and human potential, with its strategic location. The expenditure involved in the pro-Israeli line pursued by the United States was justified only as long as Israel played a special role in U.S. plans in the Near East.

Until recently, for example, this country was seen as a bulwark in the struggle against the "Soviet threat." We will not enter into a polemic about the strength of this hypothesis. Let us state in any case that the "Soviet threat" no longer exists. This opinion is shared even by our past enemies. "Now and in the foreseeable future we do not regard the Soviet Union's Armed Forces as a threat or an enemy," NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner states. Consequently, the former significance of Israel as an anti-Soviet bridgehead has been lost.

At the present time there is no actual threat to the security of Israel and U.S. interests from the Arab side. The waves of the national liberation movement, anti-imperialism, and anti-Americanism have subsided. Having suffered a series of defeats, the Arab countries have found themselves divided on the one hand and inclined toward peaceful settlement, compromise; and cooperation with the United States on the other hand.

Meanwhile the continuation of the Arab-Israeli conflict only threatens new complications. With the development of military technology, Israel's position is becoming even more vulnerable, and the arms race ever more difficult. I would remind readers that Tel Aviv had to deviate from its course and halt production of its own Lavi fighter-bomber. In order to provide defense against Iraqi Scuds it was urgently necessary to transfer U.S.

Patriot missile installations to Israel. Dependence on the U.S. military umbrella will increase even more in the future.

Modern Israel was formed in an era of confrontation. It was precisely then that, in conditions of complete encirclement, this unique garrison state came into being. But the era of confrontation between two systems is passing away, and present-day Israel is becoming an inconvenience for its closest ally. After all, Israeli territorial claims could only be realized in conditions of confrontation, and it is not in American interests to have future quarrels with the Arabs. Thus Israeli interests conflict with U.S. ones, and Israel's importance will probably wane to the more normal proportions of any other state in the region.

Plans to establish a "greater Israel" are being squelched by "greater America." This, it seems, is how Israeli pessimists will interpret the course of events. The optimists have a different point of view: Excessive territorial ambitions should be brought to the altar of peace for the sake of Israel's own future and the security of the peoples of the Near East.

Iran's Reaction to U.S.-Kuwaiti Pact Reviewed

NC2509104291 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1430 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Sergey Salgirov commentary]

[Text] The U.S.-Kuwaiti pact on defense and security cooperation signed last week has given rise to serious concern, and Kuwait's interim charge d'affaires Fawzi 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Jasim [title as heard] was summoned to the Iranian Foreign Ministry to explain. We invite you to listen to Sergey Salgirov's commentary on this chain of events:

The U.S.-Kuwaiti pact was signed at a time when relations between Iran and Kuwait were progressing in a positive direction. As we know, after Iraq withdrew its armed forces from Kuwait, trade between Iran and Kuwait increased considerably. Iran sent its fire-extinguishing experts to Kuwait, and they have been able to put out the fires in seven flaming oil wells in [name indistinct]. Political and cultural ties between the two countries, meanwhile, have been growing.

This recent (?incident) is threatening to push Iranian-Kuwaiti relations back to the era of confrontation. Tehran has said that the U.S.-Kuwaiti pact is hostile to its national security and to security throughout the region. The Iranian leadership believes that this 10-year pact give the United States permission to conduct to any kind of military action in the region. After all, this pact grants the Pentagon access to Kuwaiti ports and will even give it permission to carry out military maneuvers and store its arms and military materiel on Kuwaiti territory.

Tehran's ABRAR has described this pact as a step toward intensifying U.S. military presence in the region. According to this newspaper, the right to deploy U.S. Armed Forces in Kuwait, Turkey, and northern Iraq grants Washington a powerful weapon with which it can not only [word indistinct] Iran but also Arab countries. Another Tehran newspaper, SALAM, has accused the Kuwaiti leadership of wanting to ensure their interests at the expense of the security interests of Iran and the other neighboring countries.

Iran's strong reaction to the U.S.-Kuwaiti pact has compelled us to reevaluate the best way to ensure Persian Gulf security. It is very clear that unilateral efforts toward this end will not maintain peace or calm. This will only [words indistinct] and foreign military presence in [word indistinct] regional countries. This has always contributed to discord and instability in the region.

During his recent visit to New York, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati met with Kuwaiti Amir Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah and once again expressed the government's opposition to any foreign military presence in the Persian Gulf. He expressed the serious concern over the signing of the U.S.-Kuwaiti military pact and clarified that the region's countries are the only ones that can ensure Persian Gulf security.

Problem of Near East Arms Exports Viewed

PM2409121591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 91 Union Edition p 5

[Article by N. Revenko: "How To Clear the Powder Keg of Explosives. Near East Is Still Arming Feverishly"]

[Text] Of late our newspapers have commented mostly on our domestic affairs. That is understandable since they affect the interests of every one of us. But we are living in an interdependent world where plenty of acute problems have accumulated and to ignore them is to become isolated. One of these problems is the problem of curbing the arms race in the Near East—a problem that is arising increasingly insistently as the regional peace conference draws near.

According to figures from London's International Institute of Strategic Studies, in 1989 roughly 23,000 medium tanks and more than 3,800 combat aircraft—a vast quantity for a comparatively small area of land—were concentrated in this region. Many specialists include the states of northern Africa in addition to western Asia and the northeast segment of the African continent in this estimate. It is paradoxical that some Near East countries have more conventional arms than even European NATO members.

No one is in any doubt that this problem must be resolved. But there is no unanimous opinion on how this is to be done. There are many plans but, in my view, none of them can bring about real disarmament.

Take the "Bush plan," for instance, which the U.S. president made public at the end of May. One of the measures proposed by the head of the U.S. administration is for arms suppliers to show restraint, meaning restrictions on sales of "destabilizing" arms and the mutual provision of information regarding forthcoming shipments.

It seems a good suggestion but, to be honest, it is extremely doubtful that Britain, France, China, and the USSR would be prepared to agree to substantially cut shipments of military equipment. However, let us nonetheless imagine for a moment that the great powers reached the appropriate agreement. How would the clients react to this? As long as there is tension in relations with their neighbors and a threat to their security, they will hardly sit idly by and refuse to seek new sources of supply; and the potential of the national military industry in the region's countries is constantly increasing.

In recent times the circle of states producing arms and military hardware has expanded considerably. Such countries as Brazil, Argentina, the Republic of South Africa, the DPRK, the ROK, Israel, and Egypt, which the United Nations classes as Third World countries, have appeared among the exporters. They do not want to cut their military shipments, which bring the treasury hard currency revenue.

Another stumbling block is: What kinds of weapons should be considered "destabilizing"?

Take such an aspect of the problem as missile technology. The level of development now achieved by the Iraqi and Iranian military industries is sufficient to copy and modify foreign models, and Israel is capable of producing ballistic missiles of its own design. For instance, by lengthening fuel tanks, reducing the weight of the warhead, and increasing the engines' cut-off time, along with other technical changes, Iraq has been able to increase the range of the Soviet Scud to 600-900km. Obviously, you cannot expect an end to missile production and testing in the current situation. But in this case freezing shipments of ballistic surface-to-surface missiles, as the U.S. President is now suggesting, will only put other states in the region in an unequal position. And what about a country's right to self-defense then?

The problem of eliminating mass-destruction weapons is equally complex. It is quite clear that Israel will not under any circumstances allow its nuclear potential to be destroyed (experts estimate that it has roughly 100 nuclear weapons [boyezaryad]) as long as the Arabs have the edge in conventional and chemical weapons and there is the threat of Israel's becoming the target of aggression. On the other hand, as long as the atomic bomb remains an Israeli monopoly the Arab states will oppose the destruction of toxic agents—the "poor man's nuclear weapons."

What is the way out of the current—to be blunt—deadlock situation? It would be simply absurd for me to claim that I know how to do this. At the same time it is now obvious what steps must be taken for the disarmament process to begin. First, it is essential to clearly see that the real end of the arms race in the Near East is indissolubly linked with a conclusive Arab-Israeli settlement. Without that any programs—even those proposed by prestigious politicians—will fail to produce the desired effect.

Another indispensable condition is the formulation of confidence-building measures, since every state must have guarantees that no one and nothing threatens its security. Moreover, debates on confidence-building measures must be held in parallel with a discussion of the political aspects with the idea that they are mutually complementary.

The negotiating process may drag on for many years, so therefore there is no point in harboring illusions that we can expect speedy results in curbing the arms race in the Near East. However, it can still be given some kind of restrictive framework. For instance, developed states, above all the permanent members of the UN Security Council who are the main suppliers of military hardware to the region, could agree to stop shipments of the kinds of weapons that they have a production monopoly on. I refer above all to high-technology weapons, since they are the most destabilizing and disruptive to the strategic balance.

Another avenue is to work out a UN register of arms shipments and sales. In practice this means that exporters will be forced to inform the United Nations about transactions to supply military equipment or provide other military aid.

What is more, it is extremely important to formulate principles governing arms shipments—for instance, to acknowledge as illegal the sale of weapons to countries that commit acts of aggression, build up their armed forces over and above their defense needs, and threaten the territorial integrity of other countries. After these principles are approved by the United Nations any state that sells military hardware to Iraq or Libya will bear the responsibility for so doing.

All this can be done now without waiting for progress at a Near East peace conference.

More on Fate of Missing Specialist in India

OW2409193591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 24 Sep 91

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to Indian authorities, the death of Soviet specialist Sergey Grischenko has not been confirmed, but unfortunately, there is also no proof that he is alive. The deputy head of the Department of Countries

in Southern Asia at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Yevgeniy Ivanov, told a correspondent from "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] that, as far as he knows, Indian special services do not have proof of Mr. Grischenko's death. But this does not mean that the Soviet specialist, who was kidnapped in July while working in the Indian state of Assam by revolutionaries from the extremist organization "United Assam Liberation Front" is still alive, as reported by the mass media. Former representatives of the Liberation Front announced that the Soviet specialist was killed "attempting to escape." Mr. Grischenko's body, however, has not been found. The matter is further complicated by the fact that the revolutionaries from the Front are active in the hard to reach mountain region of the state of Assam.

In Mr. Ivanov's words, the Soviet Foreign Ministry insists that this question be entirely clarified. Moscow is doing everything possible to bring to light the circumstances of the possible death of the specialist. This mission was given to the new Soviet ambassador to India, Mr. Anatoliy Dryukov. He maintains constant contact with the Indian authorities. The Indian army continues to comb the area in the state of Assam.

The diplomat expressed hope that "something" would be explained after the visit to India by Mr. Grischenko's wife Nelli, who does not believe her husband is dead. Presently she is in Gauhati, the capital of Assam, meeting with people who personally knew Mr. Grischenko.

According to Indian law, a person is considered dead or missing without a trace, if, in the course of two years his body is not discovered, or no eyewitness to the fact of his death and the place of death can be found.

East Europe

Sofia Says Bid on CEMA Building Too Low

LD2409124991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] The Bulgarian Government has examined the issue of CEMA property. According to BTA, problems linked to the liquidation of joint property have not been settled, mainly because of the stand adopted by the Soviet side. The main argument is about the CEMA building in Moscow, which the Soviet side would like to purchase at a nominal price of 100,000 rubles. Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania think that this property should be valued in accordance with the current world market prices. These countries think the building is worth $400 million. Bulgaria's share in constructing and fitting the building amounts to 8 to 10 percent, or about $32 million.

The government has concluded that it is necessary to support the demand of Bella Kadar, chairman of CEMA's liquidation commission, and to send yet another note to the Soviet Government to reconsider its position.

Gorbachev Welcomes Revival of Bulgarian Newspaper

LD2309134791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0737 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Report by TASS correspondent Aleksandr Stepanenko]

[Excerpts] Sofia, 23 Sep (TASS)—The newspaper ZARYA has reappeared on newsstands in Bulgaria after an absence of almost half a century. It was a liberal weekly that used to be published before and during World War II. [passage omitted] The Bulgarian-USSR Friendship Society was one of the organizations behind the revival of ZARYA.

In an address to ZARYA readers and the Bulgarian-USSR Friendship Society carried by BTA, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has welcomed the reappearance of the newspaper, which intends actively to promote the development and renewal of traditional good-neighborly Bulgarian-Russian and Bulgarian-Soviet ties. He expressed gratitude to the Bulgarian people for their support during the difficult days of August this year and wished them success in restructuring their homeland.

West Europe

German Finance Minister Meets Gorbachev, Yakovlev

LD2409204191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The visit to our country by FRG Finance Minister Theo Waigel is coming to an end.

[Correspondent A. Melnikov] As he set off on this trip, Waigel assessed the prospects for the development of the Soviet economy very optimistically. It would be interesting to know what his opinion is now.

Today, he met USSR President Gorbachev and Academician Aleksandr Yakovlev. Yesterday, the minister visited the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, where he held talks with Fokin, the head of the Ukrainian Government, and Nazarbayev, the president of Kazakhstan. So far, nothing is known about their content, but to judge by the German press, our relations in the financial and economic fields can hardly be called unclouded. The phrase, "the bottomless Soviet barrel," has long since been in wide circulation in the West. The FRG has already allocated 64,000 million marks to us, so we can hardly count on yet another financial infusion.

And yet, the countries of the EC and the G-7 are prepared to give the USSR urgent winter aid, mainly in

the form of foodstuffs and medicines. The most important thing is for it to be effective, and this is the basic aim of Theo Waigel's visit.

Discusses Cooperation Issues

LD2509102391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0150 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 24 Sep (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev today received German Finance Minister Theo Waigel, accompanied by Ambassador Klaus Blech, Horst Keller, secretary of state of the German Finance Ministry, and Gerdt Haller, a departmental director of the Finance Ministry. The conversation between these state figures, who have long been acquainted and who trust each other sincerely, was an important link in the president's dialogue with representatives of a country that has contributed most significantly to providing material and political assistance for our process of change. There was frank and specific discussion of topical issues of bilateral and multilateral cooperation at the present stage, following the failure of the coup and given the extraordinary upsurge of democracy in the country.

The president reported on specific steps being taken to form a new union and preparation for the conclusion of an economic treaty between the republics.

The German representatives were especially interested in finding out with whom they will be dealing when setting up cooperation in the new circumstances, how the Union structures are going to ensure the coordination and combination of the republics' interests, and what measures will be taken to remove barriers holding back the flow of foreign investment. They inquired about the role of financial organizations able to represent the combined interests of the members of the Union, because, they stressed, this is a vital condition of the effectiveness of assistance and cooperation. They received detailed and clear answers to all these questions.

Theo Waigel plainly stated the need for the immediate implementation of a large-scale project, based on the latest technology in, for example, the field of extracting and processing raw materials, which would be an instructive example of the effectiveness and mutual benefit of cooperation and would reduce the level of risk perceived by foreign investors in other spheres.

Use of the experience from transformations in eastern Germany in the course of privatization, denationalization, development of enterprise, and modernization of production potential in our country was also discussed.

The question of Germans in our country and of fulfillment of justified demands concerning restoration of their statehood and opportunities for ethnic development in conditions of autonomy was also discussed. Mikhail Gorbachev promised to speed up adoption of the necessary measures.

The conversation, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, will be of direct practical significance, in the opinion of those taking part.

Meets With Silayev

LD2509091391 Hamburg DPA in German 0821 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Federal Finance Minister Theo Waigel has continued his talks in the Soviet Union today. First he met with Russian Premier Ivan Silayev, who as chairman of the Interrepublic Economic Committee, is also carrying out the duties of head of the Soviet Government. The scheduled talks with Yeltsin did not happen because Yeltsin, according to information from the German Embassy, has gone away on vacation this morning on the advice of his doctors.

In his own words, Waigel intends to find out about the position of the republics in the USSR. It is important to discover whether Russia will go its own way in monetary matters or whether a common currency will be kept by the republics. According to Waigel, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had said during his meeting with Waigel on Tuesday that he thought the economic and Union treaty would come about.

Germany To Deal With Republics Separately

OW2409174691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The German Finance Minister Theo Waigel told a news conference in Kiev on Monday that officials in Bonn were determined, for all their respect for President Gorbachev, to deal separately with each of the ex-member states of the USSR that had proclaimed their independence.

The minister expressed satisfaction with the information he had received from the Ukrainian Premier Vitold Fokin about the political and economic situation in the republic and the prospects for its independent development.

Italy To Assess Soviet Economic Needs

OW2409191391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 24 Sep 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" article by diplomatic correspondent I. Porshnev: "USSR-Italy: Economic Discussions at the Meeting in Moscow"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The main point of the meeting between the President of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev and Italy's Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, on the 23rd of September in Moscow was to confirm both sides' obligations in the area of economic cooperation. A responsible employee from the First European Department at the

Soviet Foreign Ministry discussed this topic. In a conversation with a correspondent from "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] he explained that, as the meeting points out, Italy intends to give economic support to he Soviet Union in the future, as long as radical reforms are realized.

Besides this confirmation of support, according to the diplomat, there were no other principle new agreements in the economic sphere at the meeting in Moscow. Discussion was primarily on how to use what already exists most effectively. This relates mainly to the line of credit which Italy granted the Soviet Union until 1994.

As the man from the Soviet Foreign Ministry remarked, here was a common understanding that this conversation had a current character." [no opening quotation mark as received] The head of the Interrepublic Economic Committee, Ivan Silayev also took part in the meeting. Mr. Silayev acquainted Prime Minister Andreotti with the new agricultural structures being developed which are able to receive help from the West. The diplomat had the impression that this information was pleasing to the Italian side.

There will be an upcoming visit to Moscow by Italy's Treasury Minister, Guido Carli, who used to run the Bank of Italy. The diplomat remarked that the definite time of Mr. Carli's stay has yet to be agreed upon, but that it will most likely take place in the beginning of October. He brought up he point that the decision for Mr. Carli's visit was made already at the G7 meeting in London. During Mr. Carli's visit to the USSR he will be representing not only Italy, but the other G7 countries as well.

In the diplomat's opinion, the purpose of this mission is to discuss the direction which financial and economic reform is taking in the USSR, and to decide upon the areas in which Italian help (primarily in the form of consultation) could be most effective. Included in this the diplomat named the problem of ruble convertibility.

Italy Agrees To Military Memorials, Exhumations

PM2509093791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Sep 91 First Edition p 5

[By TASS correspondent R. Zadunayskiy: "'Military Memorials' Association Set Up"]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Sep—Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, USSR defense minister, and Italian Defense Minister V. Rognoni, who is on official visit to the USSR, have signed a joint statement creating the "Military Memorials" International Association of Military Memorial Cooperation. The USSR and Italian Defense Ministries have acted as sponsors of the new organization.

The "Military Memorials" association is a joint Soviet-Italian venture, which will put into practice the intergovernmental agreement signed 23 April 1991 on the status of the burial sites of Soviet servicemen and civilians in Italy and of Italian servicemen who died during World War II in the USSR, and similar intergovernmental agreements concluded with other countries. The association is already engaged in work in Volgograd Oblast to exhume and return home the remains of 240 Italian officers and men who died there during the Great Patriotic War.

In line with the statement, the Italian side bears the cost of financing the measures organized by the association and maintaining its apparatus, while the Soviet side supplies premises, transport, communications, and other essential aid. Moreover, the document envisages cooperation between the association and small economically accountable enterprises offering undertaker services, which will make it possible to obtain additional funds to meet the needs of improving Soviet military cemeteries in the USSR and abroad.

Spain Freezes Credits, Cites Unstable Economy

PM2309160091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 91 Single Edition p 5

[Correspondent V. Volkov report: "No Treaty, No Credit"]

[Text] Madrid—Sessions of the Spanish parliament's foreign affairs commissions have been held twice in the past week. Legislators in the Congress of Deputies and Senate have invariably been addressed by Foreign Minister Fernandez Ordonez. The agenda of these reports by the head of Spain's foreign policy department has essentially been the same: the situation in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

As far as our country is concerned, after appeals to "show responsibility and caution" in connection with the uncontrolled disintegration of the Soviet Union and assurances that Spain will "maintain its present privileged relationship of friendship and cooperation with the central USSR authorities and independent republics," Fernandez Ordonez suddenly sharply changed his tone in the Congress of Deputies. The government had decided not to send the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the USSR to parliament for ratification until the situation in the Soviet Union had been clarified, he told senators. The minister described this decision as a display of elementary "caution" after the attempted coup in the USSR. Fernandez Ordonez also said that $1.5 billion in credits granted to the Soviet Union by Spain would not after all be given just yet—for "technical reasons."

We must say that this kind of event is unusual in local political life.

My first call was to the Foreign Ministry's diplomatic information administration. How long would ratification of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the USSR be postponed? The woman I spoke to asked me, in line with current Spanish practice, not to give her

name. After I had waited some time, she read me a paragraph identical to the now familiar statement on the situation in the Soviet Union. No, she did not know how long it would take to clarify the situation.

And what is going to happen to the $1.5 billion credit? Another anonymous member of personnel—in the Ministry of Economy and Finance this time—said briefly: Surely it would not be wise to risk that kind of money in the present atmosphere. Whom would we give the money to—the central government, which has practically ceased to exist, or the republics, which have proclaimed their independence?

I thanked him for his candor and put the same question to the Soviet trade representative in Spain, P.Ya. Koshelev.

We have to get used to the idea that no one in the West is going to throw money to the wind, the trade representative said. Our side is largely responsible for the fact that the bulk of credit intended for investment has not made it through the "organizational" barrier. I would like to stress, however, that we have managed to buy food, medicines, and other essentials worth approximately $35 million. I think this trend will continue. I hope that all credit facilities will be "unfrozen" as the situation in the Soviet Union stabilizes.

French Papers Predict Limits on Western Aid

PM2309140191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 91 Single Edition p 5

[Correspondent V. Bolshakov report under the rubric "Them or Us": "One Hundred Billion or Chaos"]

[Text] Paris—A full $100 billion or 600 billion francs translated into French currency! As is well known, that is approximately the sum that the Persian Gulf war cost the West. B. Pankin, the new USSR foreign minister, recently suggested that the same sum be found to give the Soviet Union multilateral economic aid.

"One hundred billion dollars or chaos. Pankin thinks that to the West the fate of the Soviet Union, which has found itself on the brink of disaster, is no less important than its stake in the Persian Gulf. For that reason, he stated, the West could collect that sum together. "What is this—blackmail?" well-known economist Christophe Labarre asks in LE FIGARO.

In Labarre's opinion, this is not blackmail but rather wishful thinking. He believes that the West is ready to look at the USSR's request and B. Pankin himself with all due sympathy. But, unfortunately, mere verbal assurances from the new foreign minister that his country will observe its commitments are not enough.

Labarre, incidentally, recalls that literally the day before B. Pankin's comment, leading Soviet banking specialist T. Alibegov, first deputy chairman of the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, had stated that the USSR would be forced to ask the West to "reschedule" the Soviet foreign debt. This has already caused panic among Western financiers.

Already people are openly saying that the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity is on the verge of bankruptcy, because for several successive months now it has not given any bank guarantees.

There is also a direct risk, for example, of the complete cessation of imports of Soviet goods, because Western banks have lost all their bearings with regard to the conduct of affairs with the USSR. In 1990, according to figures from the Institute of International Finance, Western banks reduced credits for operations with the Soviet Union by $10 billion. This year a reduction of a further $11 billion is expected.

LE MONDE writes that the new mass dismissals at enterprises in France, the FRG, Britain, and other countries and the gloom of unemployment do not inspire hope that Western bank vaults will open for the Soviet Union as soon as Moscow says: "Open, sesame."

In Labarre's opinion, the whole range of our own and the West's problems will hardly enable the G-7 now meeting in Dresden to discuss current issues, including Pankin's suggestion, to move toward anything more sensational than "helping the Soviet Union to help itself."

Greece Asks 'To Speed Up' Credit Talks

LD2409092591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2108 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Malyshev]

[Text] Athens, 23 Sep (TASS)—Greece today asked the USSR to speed up the procedure that would enable Greece to provide the Soviet Union with $100 million in credits. This request was conveyed to the Soviet Embassy by Sotirios Khatzigakis, deputy minister of the national economy.

The decision to offer the USSR credits was taken by a consortium of four Greek banks and was announced in December last year. The aim of this, it is reported, was to assist the liberalization of the Soviet economy and to give the Soviet side the opportunity of paying its debts to Greek exporters. A draft of the relevant agreement between the banks was handed over to the USSR during the visit to Moscow by Greek Premier Konstantinos Mitsotakis this summer. Amendments were then made to this at the request of the Soviet side and the final draft agreement was sent to Moscow by Athens for signing on 23 August. However, the Greek side says that so far Athens has received no response to its proposal.

The TASS correspondent has been told at the Soviet trade mission that discussion of the credit question had indeed taken up a great deal of time. There were delays in Moscow. The Greek side had initially put forward unacceptable conditions. The trade mission, however,

says that talks have now come to an end, and, in the immediate future, all the documents needed for the credits to be received will be signed.

Sweden Considers Submarine Movements, Economy

OW2309220291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1919 GMT 23 Sep 91

[From "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet Foreign Ministry will have to clarify how much the Soviet Defence Ministry's announcements during the period before the putsch correspond to the reality of events concerning Soviet submarines not sailing towards Swedish coasts after 1981, announced an executive official [of] the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Second European Department. In a conversation with a "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent he remarked that this decision was brought about by a working visit to Stockholm by Boris Pankin, the new head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. The diplomat also pointed out that the question of the Soviet submarines had darkened Soviet-Swedish relations over the last ten years.

As revealed to "DP", the question of Soviet foreign debt with Sweden, which has grown noticeably over the last few years, was discussed in detail. Doubts are being expressed in Sweden regarding the Soviet Union's credit worthiness. Besides which, the Swedes do not know with whom to deal, nor who will repay the debt, whether the Centre or the republics.

Nevertheless, as a Soviet Foreign Ministry official pointed out, Swedish interest towards cooperation with Sweden is not weakening. [sentence as received] An indication of this is the changed attitude of the Swedish captains of industry, as a consequence of B. Pankin's visit to Stockholm. Swedish entrepreneurs made clear their desire to cooperate with the Soviet Union by announcing they would start introducing themselves into the Soviet market this year.

Latin America & Caribbean

Troop Withdrawal 'Bitter Pill' for Cuba

LD2409130391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2330 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Yuriy Isayev commentary]

[Text] Soviet-Cuban consultations on the withdrawal from Cuba of the Soviet training brigade have ended in Havana. As is known, this sensational piece of news was announced by President Gorbachev a few days ago at the end of his talks with United States Secretary of State Baker. Our military assistance to the Cuban regime was one of the main obstacles in Soviet-American relations. How did they take this bitter pill in Havana, and how did the consultations end? At the microphone is commentator Yuriy Isayev:

[Isayev] The pill is indeed a bitter one. In a word, there is nothing to sugar it with, in either the direct or the figurative meaning of the word. Moscow is at last starting to build relations with Cuba upon the foundations of mutual advantage and good sense. The days of dollar infusions into the Cuban military machine, which has become one of the most powerful ones in Latin America, are coming to an end. For 30 years and more our rulers have given aid to Fidel Castro, describing it as their international duty and using other high-sounding words. The CIA has calculated that we have spent $43 billion on the Cuban Armed Forces alone, not to mention the annual economic injections, each of which was equal to $5 billion. It was only after we ourselves reached the extreme point in our economy and after the Cubans became quite simply destitute, despite all of these billions, that common sense at last woke up.

I am sure that it was a revelation for many people to learn that our 18,000 strong, so-called military brigade was stationed on that distant island. That kind of wording reminded me personally of Afghanistan, where for many years we hid behind the fig leaf of statements about a limited contingent.

What were the fair-haired lads doing all those years beneath the searing tropical sun, amid the exotic palms? Was their presence in Cuba really so necessary? I think we will soon have the answers to these and other questions. President Gorbachev said that the brigade will be withdrawn within a month. Of course, this is a fairly tight schedule and the Cubans took offense at us. One can understand their point of view. Many of them were reminded by this of the days of the Caribbean crisis, when Khrushchev, without telling Fidel, secretly withdrew our missiles. But I think the feeling of injury will soon pass. Even in Havana they could have calculated that the normalization of Soviet-Cuban relations would compel Moscow to take precisely this step. The mission of Valeriy Nikolayenko, our deputy minister of foreign affairs, was, of course, a delicate and difficult one. His task included not only the reaching of agreement on specific steps to withdraw the brigade but also taking upon himself the entire anger of the Cuban side and at the same time stating firmly and unambiguously the fact that Soviet-Cuban relations are entering a new phase. Our diplomat coped with his task. He then left for New York, where consultations with the U.S. Administration are due to take place about the new situation surrounding Cuba.

Immediately after the Soviet initiative, the White House stated that the United States will not close the Guantanamo military base in Cuba. But by the entire logic of events, if Moscow has said "A," then Washington ought to say "B" and close that base. But I think that Nikolayenko and the diplomats accompanying him will put this question on the agenda. Assuredly, certain processes, for

the present hidden from the eye of the outsider, are taking place in the diplomatic kitchen. Some kind of food is being prepared there. It is not by chance that President Bush stated on Sunday that changes could take place on the island much more quickly than everyone expects.

Whatever happens, let's hope that these changes are positive and that they improve American-Cuban relations. For that there is every prerequisite.

Preparations for Cuban Party Congress Viewed

PM2409112991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[By A. Kamorin: "Cuba on Eve of Congress. Communist Party's Role Remains Unshakeable"]

[Text] Havana—The session of the preparatory commission of the Fourth Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Congress, which has just ended in the Cuban capital, approved the drafts of the resolutions that will be submitted for examination by the delegates to this forum.

The main points of the agenda of the congress, which should open 10 October in the city of Santiago de Cuba, have thus been determined. It is clear from the information report on the work of the commission that the delegates will examine questions connected with the new edition of the party statutes and the introduction of changes to the party program. They must also discuss economic questions and adopt recommendations for improving the work of the organs of the people's power. Of course, elections to the party's leading organs will also be held at the congress.

It is reported that the draft resolutions approved by the commission will be discussed beforehand locally by delegates from all Cuban provinces. It is to be expected that these discussions will be of a closed nature. At any rate nothing is yet being reported about the documents' publication, and to this day many details of the preparation for the congress have been shrouded in a curtain of confidentiality. IZVESTIYA has already reported that, for instance, not a single foreign delegation is being invited to the forum. Foreign journalists will also be unable to travel to Santiago de Cuba.

The lack of information about the debates in the preparatory commission, headed personally by Fidel Castro, makes it impossible to construct forecasts of the possible changes to the statutes and program of the PCC. It is true that to judge by the speeches of leaders here, the main questions—the retention of the strictly one-party system on the island and the constitutional enshrinement of the PCC's "leading and guiding role"—will not be discussed at all. Nor is it entirely clear what path the examination of economic problems will take. So far not a single plan in Cuba has been able to be compiled without a forecast of trade with our country, the island's main "supplier."

Talks on trade turnover for next year have not yet begun, so that the congress will either have to restrict itself to the most general consideration or drastically alter the republic's foreign policy orientation. As for the organs of people's power, which are something like our soviets as they were before 1985, the question of reforms in this field has been debated for a long time now. Obviously, it will be a question of some decentralization of the functions of power in favor of local organs.

Cuban leaders have frequently warned that no sensational changes in the style of the East European processes should be expected of the fourth congress. And this time the statement of the preparatory commission contains assurances that the forum "will make a substantial contribution to the preparation of the entire people for the fulfillment of our most sacred duty: saving the motherland, the revolution, and socialism."

Supreme Soviet

New USSR Supreme Soviet To Convene 8 Oct

LD2309122891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] By a decree of the USSR president, the first sitting of the country's Supreme Soviet in its new composition is planned for 8 October.

Presidium Meets, Views Preparations

LD2409203191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] A sitting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was held in the Kremlin today.

Progress for preparing for the session of the newly composed Supreme Soviet was examined. As is known, it will open on 8 October.

Information was heard on how the work on forming the composition of the Soviet of the Republics and the Soviet of the Union is being carried out in the republics. A report was made about the main principles of the temporary regulations for the first few sittings of the union parliament and its chambers. The work on this document will be continued with the participation of the representatives of the deputations from the republics. The members of the Presidium discussed the issue of the status of people's deputies of the republics, who will be in the composition of the Soviet of the Republics of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Welcomes Armenian Independence

LD2509091191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] This week, a draft economic treaty will be submitted to heads of government of the republics for examination. Touching upon the reaction of the USSR president to the results of the referendum in Armenia, the head of the press service said that Gorbachev welcomes the proclamation of independence by this republic and expressed satisfaction with the fact that it does not intend to break off its historical ties with Russia. With regard to the mission of the Russian and Kazakh presidents aimed at settling the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] problem, it was noted at the briefing that, in Mikhail Gorbachev's opinion, this mission offers a chance for the stabilization of the situation in the NKAO. The USSR president hopes that there will be no need to sign a special presidential decree on the situation in the NKAO.

Commentary Urges Gorbachev-Yeltsin Unity

PM2509090991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Sep 91 p 1

[Article by Vladimir Kuznechevskiy under the "Commentary" rubric: The Gorbachev-Yeltsin Alliance Needs To Be Protected"]

[Text] It can only be imagined what the USSR president was feeling when during a conversation with him the U.S. secretary of state was casting nervous glances at his watch, anxious to finish his conversation, as in 30 minutes he was due to have a meeting here, in the Kremlin, with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president, followed by a lightning visit to the capitals of the three Baltic states, after which he would have to fly to Alma-Ata for a three-hour conversation with the president of Kazakhstan. It would have been difficult even to conceive of such a situation before, but now it is the political reality. And indeed leading Western politicians today are clearly at a loss when it comes to assessing the situation in the USSR. They rush about the boundless reaches of the still-vast USSR, trying to create from the political mosaic of the republics a cohesive idea of what remains of the USSR and whom you should back in terms of political and economic cooperation. And, by all accounts, they have been unable to reach anything definite so far.

Matters inside the country stand no better in this regard. There is no overall picture. The leading economists of the Union propose to the country's political leadership various, often diametrically opposed, ways of overcoming the crisis (if it not already a collapse). Some try to devise economic hoops, as it were, whereby the split barrel of a formerly integrated economic organism can be bound together; others consider that, to preserve the "single economic space," you have to remove immediately by means of an interrepublic agreement the customs barriers which have already appeared among the republics and agree to maintain a single national currency. Yet others are aware that no force (and that includes the force of your own conviction) can at this stage halt the processes of the national liberation revolution, no matter how you try to scare the republics with economic collapse in the very near term. Everyone wants to enjoy freedom, and these processes should not be hindered, but rather be allowed to go through all the logical phases of development in a calm and natural way, after which the republics themselves will seek economic union. That is the view, for example, of Academician O. Bogomolov.

As soon as this process starts, the question of recreating appropriate common (let us call them union) political structures will arise. And given that, someone will after all have to head these structures. And here no political figure other than Gorbachev is discernible.

But here is something alarming. Until quite recently, prior to the Novo-Ogarevo process, certain forces stubbornly sought to drive a wedge between Gorbachev and

Yeltsin and effectively set Russia against the Union structures. The majority at the congresses of USSR people'e deputies persuaded those two leaders "to hold out their hand to each other before we all leave this world feet first," but the party nomenklatura stubbornly sought to separate them. Something similar is being resurrected today. By all accounts, the same forces as before, having recovered from the consequences of the failure of the August putsch, are trying to revive the bad old days. Whereas previously they sought to persuade Gorbachev that Russia was imposing a "war of laws" upon him, now they have merely changed the words. On 13 September PRAVDA published a front-page article about a "Trojan horse," placing the eye-catching subhead "The War of Laws Is Over. The War of Decrees Has Started." in the center of the article. And in the article itself, commenting on the Russian president's decrees, it warns of the advent of "totalitarianism" and the fact that these decrees constitute "a step toward a new authoritarianism and a first, as-yet barely perceptible glimmer of a personality cult." On 17 September PRAVDA writes, bluntly now: "One president has launched an assault upon the other."

Previously they tried to separate Gorbachev and Yeltsin with the help of Lukyanov's Supreme Soviet ("the war of laws"). This does not exist now. Therefore they operate blatantly, directly seeking to get the two presidents into personal conflict. The time when these same forces will start setting the Russian Supreme Soviet against the RSFSR president is clearly not far off. And it is not, after all, Yeltsin's mistakes which are at issue here. He does, of course, make mistakes. To err is human. However, it is not Yeltsin's mistakes which they criticize. But through the mistakes, interpreting them in the requisite vein, they seek to set the USSR President and the RSFSR president against each other. It is to be supposed that tomorrow, if this succeeds, they will start trying to do the same thing to Gorbachev. I regard it as essential that the healthy forces in Russia and the republics, the forces which are seeking real reform of the obsolete socioeconomic and political system, see and understand who is behind this and prevent fresh complications arising in our already difficult development.

TRUD Interviews KGB Chairman Bakatin

91US0821A Moscow TRUD in Russian
19 Sep 91 p 3

[Interview with V.V. Bakatin, chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security, by TASS commentator Yuriy Sizov, special for TRUD; place and date not given: "The KGB Without the 'Iron Felix'"]

[Text] **In the business calendar of the aide to the chief of the country's State Security, the queue for an interview was already being counted in three digits. Every day there is a meeting with the press. In this evening hour, however, it was the TASS Television Service and reporters from the American ABC television company that were setting up their equipment in Vadim Viktorovich's office.**

Until now, Soviet and American journalists have never appeared together in the office of either the CIA or the KGB chiefs.

[Sizov] Vadim Viktorovich, who are your most reliable allies now in the radical restructuring of the KGB? Can you name them?

[Bakatin] You want me to name them?

[Sizov] Is it possible?

[Bakatin] No. I will not name them. I can only say that my most reliable ally in the restructuring is our society. It is the citizens of Russia and of Moscow. People are expecting the KGB to be fundamentally reformed.

[Sizov] You have taken over a very difficult agency, against which our society keeps its own score. What do you intend to do to break the secrecy syndrome?

[Bakatin] The specificity of all special services in the world is their secrecy. They cannot work normally if they open themselves up. Then they would no longer be special services.

What we can talk about is the history, those tragic pages in it that are covered with darkness. Of course, the answers to some questions can be found in the KGB archives, among other places. It is important that these dark pages be opened to society. This order has already been given. Also, we need to sort out the situation with the committee's statistics. For instance, I have discovered, to my surprise, that they do not exist here in a commonly understood sense. Although there are mountains of volumes sitting here.

We will attempt to analyze them, the way it has been done in the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. I think we will make these statistics open. Not all of them, though. We cannot disclose the agents' network, for instance; otherwise, it would lose its utility. That is, professional secrecy within the boundaries of the law should remain.

[Sizov] There are contentions in the press that throughout its entire history the KGB has existed for only one purpose: to look for enemies. Does the KGB have foreign and domestic enemies today, and who are they?

[Bakatin] Speaking about common crime, the answer is clear. The KGB has already declared that it is shifting from political investigations to combating organized crime. It is regrettable that so far there are no substantial results.

Intelligence services are a special topic. Every country has an intelligence service. Some people even maintain that intelligence brings in a certain element of trust. It is one thing what politicians and diplomats say, and another when the same information is confirmed by intelligence data—the confidence in the information is higher. It is unlikely that we will live to the day when the

intelligence services of all countries will cease to exist. So, where there is intelligence, there is counterintelligence. It should be clarified: Now the work of intelligence services is not directed at the destabilization of a specific society. Its main purpose is information collection. It is conducted all over the world. I am certain that we should not fall behind in this work, either.

[Sizov] How do you see the KGB in the future and, more importantly, how soon should we expect changes in its image?

[Bakatin] We will be changing along with society. First of all, we will change our structure. It is clear that we will have staff reductions and that we will be working more purposefully both in the area of intelligence, where there is no need to strive for some sort of global coverage, and in counterintelligence; we will also combat organized crime more actively. Unfortunately, stereotypes are tenacious. We are used to thinking that the center is everything. Today the last word should belong to the republics. We will become something of an agency that serves the interests of all republics wishing to be part of the Union. I think that the issues of external security and foreign intelligence will remain at the center. It is unrealistic for each republic to create its own intelligence network. To accomplish this, one needs years and one needs cadres, which also require lengthy and costly training.

[Sizov] Once in a while we hear accusations that the KGB is using journalists as a cover for its intelligence and counterintelligence activities. Do you believe that it is worth it: Using journalists for the convenience of this cover?

[Bakatin] There is no such profession as intelligence officer. Each one of them has his own profession: dentist, chemist, engineer, or journalist, after all. So it is not right to put the question this way: Should journalistic cover be used or not? He is a journalist. In addition to this, he has undertaken, for the sake of his country, the very hard mission of being an intelligence officer. A diplomat is protected by immunity. A journalist, even if he is an intelligence officer, is not. He may fail, and then...

It is another matter when we are talking about the practice that had been established over the years that in this or that organization three staff positions should be given to the KGB. This practice should be abandoned. We will have state security officers only when the leadership of the organization believes that they are needed there.

Neither, probably, should we pass a law stating that under no circumstances may journalists be intelligence officers or vice versa. Although I agree with you that it is unpleasant to sense certain suspicion toward yourself when you are abroad.

[Sizov] What about the fate of former GDR leader Erich Honekker? There have been reports lately that allegedly he would be extradited to the FRG.

[Bakatin] One should not rely on rumors. Nobody wants to do this. Although there are indeed serious problems involving a violation of international law. This issue should probably be viewed from a purely humanitarian position, and from the point of simple decency in the relations between the political leadership—ours and Germany's. This is the only way.

[Sizov] Can you say that KGB activities involving surveillance of Soviet citizens on political grounds are a thing of the past?

[Bakatin] The surveillance, or political investigations, or supervision for political motives, have been completely stopped—I can vouch for this, at least from the point of view of the ideology I implement as KGB chairman. Of course, one cannot preclude that in some rayon somebody is still acting out of inertia, but this assumption is not very realistic.

[Sizov] Western sources maintain that during the Vietnam War USSR KGB officers conducted interrogations of American prisoners of war on the territory of North Vietnam, and that some of these POW's could have ended up on the territory of the Soviet Union and may still be here?

[Bakatin] Out of the question. First, I cannot conceive that we would be holding an American citizen, especially a veteran of the Vietnam War; I see this allegation as an absolutely absurd fabrication. As a USSR citizen, I am convinced that this is impossible.

[Sizov] The issue of the need for opening KGB installations [raskrytie obyektov KGB] is very hot now.

[Bakatin] This is a very difficult problem. It may involve so-called agents of the KGB, who have been working on trust. No intelligence service discloses its agents. On the whole, however, the archives should be open. There are respective directives from the president of the Union and the president of Russia, as well as the presidents of the republics.

[Sizov] Do you hope that there will be cooperation between the KGB and the CIA?

[Bakatin] I do not see any reason why not. If the trust between the countries continues to increase, it would be logical for the special services, too, to find points of contact and to cooperate on those issues that represent common danger for humanity. This is first of all combating the drug trade and terrorism.

[Sizov] For many decades, there had been a monument of Felix Dzerzhinskiy in front of the KGB building; after the coup attempt, it was taken down. Will there be some other new symbol put in its place?

[Bakatin] Frankly, I regret that the monument was taken down, but not because I have tremendous respect for Dzerzhinskiy. Far from that. I do believe that just as it is wrong to rewrite the history books, it is wrong to rewrite history on the streets. This does not speak of high

culture. The monument could have stayed there as a reminder of what our people have gone through.

We have already had similar vandalism in our history—in 1917. Monuments to tsars, emperors, and so on were taken down. Alas, it looks as if we have not learned anything in all these years. As for new symbols, it hardly makes much sense to put them here. Since this one has already been removed, it probably would be best to just put a flower bed there and plant some flowers.

[Sizov] What is the most difficult part of your job right now?

[Bakatin] Giving interviews. But seriously, it is the job itself. This is a new and very difficult agency for me: a new job and new cadres. Plus, our society is changing in a very radical way. Therefore, the system called the KGB (it will probably be called something else) is changing, too. Thus, the most difficult part is to accomplish everything quickly, while at the same time avoiding haste and damage.

[Sizov] Please tell us how many stars are on your shoulder boards and how often you will wear your uniform?

[Bakatin] I will not wear a uniform. Therefore, it is absolutely unimportant how much insignia is on it.

[Sizov] Thank you for the interview.

Closure of KGB 3d Directorate Reported

LD2409185291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Vadim Bakatin, chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security, has issued a decree on ending the activity of the Directorate for the Defense of the Soviet Constitutional Structure,—that is, Directorate No. 3.

All its structural links are being abolished. A TASS correspondent found this out from sources close to the leadership of the country's Committee for State Security.

Commission Issues Proposals on Revamping KGB

LD2409215891 Moscow TASS in English 2043 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—The State Commission for Inquiry into the Activities of State Security Agencies today circulated proposals on first-priority measures for a radical reorganisation of KGB.

The commission was formed on August 28, this year, from among deputies to the Russian and central parliaments by a decree issued by President Mikhail Gorbachev.

An official communique issued by the commission emphasises it is inadmissible to allow state security agencies to turn out to be disorganised and ineffectual at a time when new forms of statehood are being fashioned in the country.

Therefore the point is not to eliminate KGB agencies altogether but to reorganise them radically stage-by stage with a view to creating a rational system of security agencies to meet the interests and requirements of republics and the union as a whole.

The reorganisation of KGB agencies, the commission believes, must involve eliminating monopolism in the sphere of state security by decentralising the management of appropriate agencies and efficiently regulating the functions and powers of every one of them individually from the viewpoint of the interests of peoples, democracy, and the state.

Proceeding from the premise that union republics are successors to KGB structures on respective territories, the commission suggests in particular that an inter-republican commission be formed, with authorised representatives of republics working out proposals to reorganise KGB structures by determining powers and functions the republics would delegate to security agencies.

The results of these talks, the authors of the communique believe, will then be used to draft provisions of a treaty of sovereign states in part concerning state security.

It is also contemplated to set up an inter-republican body within the system of common security of a future union of sovereign states.

Foreign Ministry Reorganization Described

PM2409130391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Sep 91 Union Edition p 7

[Article by political observer Stanislav Kondrashov: "Union Foreign Ministry: Reorganization on the March"]

[Text] Our foreign policy as of today has become a foreign food policy. I say "our," believing that in this case both the union and the republic authorities will agree with this interpretation. As for the sharpness of the formulation, it is no sharper than the situation which has taken shape although it needs to be defined in one further respect—it is also a foreign medicine policy. Last week it was for food and medicine that Yu.M. Luzhkov, deputy chairman of the "provisional government," flew to Brussels to the EC and to London to see today's coordinators of the "big seven" (and also to Warsaw). He was accompanied by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister E.Ye. Obminskiy, who has a great deal of experience of foreign economic deals. The delegation had a mandate from the State Council, which at its 16 September session discussed the food question as being the most important.

In Brussels the delegation was preceded by a message from Moscow which took aback Jacques Delors, the head of the EC Commission, by the sum and volume of what was requested: over $7 billion for the purchase of 5.5 million tonnes of grain, 800,000 tonnes of meat, 900,000 tonnes of sugar, and so forth. In its ordinary routine the EC does not turn over such requests every day, although it will find the potential to satisfy them. If it wants. And all the signs are that it does, since the EC is concerned for the fate of our democracy. But when he appeared personally in Brussels Yu.M. Luzhkov last Thursday made that twice as much again: $14.7 billion. Here an explanation was made—the request for $7 billion was addressed "only to the EC," while the request for the $14 billion was addressed "to the entire developed world."

Yes, Olzhas Suleymenov was right: Empty pots are more terrible than tanks. And his metaphor explains briefly and powerfully why in the face of the advancing winter the Union Foreign Ministry has turned from military-strategic issues to foreign food and medicine issues. But I also mentioned the Kazakh poet because he was among the four people's deputies invited to the new collegium of the diplomatic department which since the putsch has been headed not so much by a diplomat as by a journalist and writer, Boris Pankin.

In the rich annals of the events of the past month the self-dissolution of the Foreign Ministry collegium, which our newspaper reported prominently, was not the least event. The self-dissolution, which gave the new minister a free hand, happened 9 September and by the 14th a differently composed collegium was already sitting. Only one of the 10 deputies had been replaced but of its 12 "rank and file" members (not counting four planned nonstaff members) only two previous ones remained; they were replaced by younger people more closely connected with territorial avenues of work.

What is happening now in the Foreign Ministry skyscraper is termed by First Deputy Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy "reorganization on the march." Diplomacy cannot go on leave, even during those days and weeks when it is not entirely certain whether the usual name of "Soviet diplomacy" applies to it. The former Soviet Union has collapsed but it has not disappeared from the surrounding world and it should fulfill all the international commitments it has assumed.

The Foreign Ministry now credits itself with the following three actions, for instance: the timely convening in Moscow of the all-European Conference on the Human Dimension of the Helsinki process; a recommendation on the recognition of the independence of the three Baltic republics adopted by the State Council; and the Pankin-Baker accord on the two states' cessation of weapons deliveries to Afghanistan as of the beginning of next year. But the economy, the economy, and the economy again is the priority.

That, incidentally, is how U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker defined the priorities on the U.S.-Soviet agenda after his recent meetings in Moscow, Leningrad, and Alma-Ata. The stabilization of the economy is working in favor of centripetal forces but the West is interested in them as a prerequisite for touch control over nuclear weapons and a factor in introducing order to democratic processes.

As for the reorganization of the Foreign Ministry which is taking place "on the march," two main elements are interwoven in it: a new approach toward the formation of diplomatic cadres and new relations with the republic foreign ministries, those embryonic diplomatic departments of the new sovereign states. The SMID, that is the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Union and the republics, has been in existence for a while now. Now it is being assigned a more important and permanent place. Over the course of October a provisional charter on the SMID should be elaborated, as should a document on the distribution of remits between the union and republic departments. They will be discussed at the SMID and submitted for examination by the State Council, which now has supreme responsibility for the foreign policy of the not yet reborn Union. To ensure that the SMID operates on a permanent basis, its executive secretariat has been formed headed by V.D. Nikolayenko, deputy minister of the Union Foreign Ministry.

New cadres changes lie ahead. Some of them are connected in one way or another with the conduct of some Soviet ambassadors during the putsch. The 14 September protocol of the USSR Foreign Ministry collegium session states: "Although as a whole the collective if diplomatic workers did not support the plotters, there were cases both in the center and abroad where the actions or statements of individual leading workers were of an ambiguous nature." As a result in the public opinion and mass media of these countries and in our own countries there has formed "an obviously unfavorable atmosphere" which "complicates the ambassadors' fulfillment of the crucial tasks facing them." Taking this into consideration, the ambassadors in Greece, Yugoslavia, Britain, Ireland, Sweden, and Guinea-Bissau have been asked "to voice their attitude toward the possibility of their further fulfillment of the functions of fully empowered representatives." In other words, to come to terms with the inevitable and to resign. Apart from those listed above, Yuriy Dubinin, the ambassador to France, is also being recalled.

An analysis of the activity of Soviet institutions abroad, primarily during the period of the putsch, will be continued. But, I repeat, the cadres changes and principles for selecting cadres do not come down to that.

First, the KGB has lost its previous powers of authorization and prohibition in selecting and appointing diplomats. The state security staffers have been removed from the Foreign Ministry cadres administration. That of course does not mean that the staff of our embassies abroad will not now include diplomats who are agents sent by the KGB: The practice of collecting information

by various ways and means is an inalienable part of the protection of national security and is accepted by all countries, particularly leading Western countries. Headlines like "KGB Agents Recalled from USSR Foreign Ministry Cadres" which have appeared, inter alia, in our newspaper, should be taken in conjunction with the explanation given above. But that does mean that the correlation between "clean" diplomats and diplomats who are agents will change everywhere in the direction of the former. It also means that when selecting cadres for diplomatic service, the previous KGB filters and party ideologized instructions regarding "reliability" will be repealed. Patriotism presupposes serving the fatherland and not the ruling party, whatever it is called.

Second, the aim is set of creating a single diplomatic service. Single in terms of its high standard according with the high standards of international civil service adopted in, for instance, the United Nations. And single in the sense that it will supply cadres for both the Union and the republic foreign ministries. A rotation of diplomats is proposed, encompassing the central apparatus in Moscow and service in the republics and abroad. If the republics wish and request it a number of experienced foreign policy workers are put at their disposal.

The former monopolist in foreign policy, the Union Foreign Ministry, would like to survive, switching with the republics to the relations of a partner, coordinator, and adviser and using all the advantages of its traditions, experience, and professionalism.

Of course, the Russian Foreign Ministry is bigger in terms of the number of its personnel and broader in terms of its tasks than, for instance, the Turkmen or Kirghiz ministries, where there have been a maximum of just three dozen staffers. Each republic, having become a sovereign state, has the right to open its own embassy in another country. But not each republic will have the power or the funds to do this, nor will it be expedient in every case. That is why there seems to be value in an idea whose authorship the Foreign Ministry ascribes to Boris Yeltsin—creating departments or sections of interests for particular republics within the framework of union embassies.

Incidentally, as a first step in the expanding partnership of the new type up to 160 seats in the central apparatus of the USSR Foreign Ministry and in institutions abroad will be offered to the republics.

Danilenko Says Elections To Solve Domestic Crisis

PM2409153591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Sep 91 Union Edition p 3

[Article by Doctor of Juridical Sciences V. Danilenko: "Old Constitution, New Life"]

The constitutional somersaults of the perestroyka era will certainly hold a prominent place in the history of constitutional law. They are destined to break all records with their unpredictability and inconsistency. Future generations studying state affairs will have plenty to puzzle over. The latest reform proposals are in a class of their own, however. They really stunned the Congress of People's Deputies. But, after the initial confusion, many deputies launched an aggressive attack: a flouting of democracy, an infringement of the rights of people's representatives, a constitutional coup...! Strong words. They force us to look more closely at the events of the last few days. What exactly happened, and why?

Gordian Knot

The August coup has caused a profound political crisis in the country. In similar situations in civilized, democratic countries it is usual to resign. It certainly is not obligatory to seek out those who overtly or covertly contributed to the crisis. The fact that the possibility of a crisis situation was allowed to arise is enough. The relevant structures of authority must bear political responsibility for this alone.

As a rule, the resignation of government leads to the dissolution of parliament and an early parliamentary election. This has its logic: If parliament—which has the legal means to control government, stop it, and even remove it—does not intervene in time to prevent a crisis, it too bears its share of the responsibility. References to the actions and stance of specific deputies have absolutely no significance. Even if the majority was actively opposed to the coup and helped man the barricades, that changes nothing. As a constitutional-legal institution, parliament stood by and was legally excluded, and, as such—an institution expressing the sovereign will of the people but failing to prevent a very serious threat to the people—should be dissolved ahead of time. Apparently quite straightforward.

The problem is how to rectify the situation. The classic constitutional scenario—an early parliamentary election and the formation of a new government on the basis of the result—is impossible, because the domestic political crisis is superimposed on the crisis being experienced by the federation and its virtual collapse. There is absolutely no point in forming new Union bodies of authority if it is unclear what form the Union is going to take and, indeed, whether there is going to be a Union at all. But nor can we leave the matter unresolved and concentrate solely on forming a new Union: After all, someone has to run the country in the transitional period and control the development of events. Otherwise we will find ourselves facing catastrophe. Moreover, we cannot possibly keep the old government to deal with day-to-day affairs during the transitional period, because many of its members, including the prime minister himself, were involved in the coup.

So, from a constitutional-legal point of view, we are faced with a deadlock requiring decisions out of the ordinary. That is where Gorbachev's initiative—agreed with the leaders of most of the Union republics—comes in: to form new, temporary structures of authority, on the basis of which solutions to the crisis can be sought. It

does not undo the Gordian knot: It cuts it. That is why it is effective and opens the way to rapid progress. Naturally, it could not be expected to satisfy all deputies. Hence the immediate question: But are Gorbachev's actions constitutional?

Constitutional Coup or Countercoup?

We will be frank, from a constitutional-legal point of view, Gorbachev's actions are certainly not irreproachable. A good many complaints could be made against the USSR President regarding the general concept of his reform and—even more important—the way in which the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies was organized and conducted. Indeed, they have been made—by deputies of various political persuasions. But that is inevitable in the specific conditions of our present situation. The constitution and congress regulations are constructed in such a way as to narrow the possibility for decisive, progressive change as far as possible.

Whom has Gorbachev had to fight hardest of all recently? Who has been his main enemy? Essentially, Gorbachev himself! The old Gorbachev—inconsistent, indecisive, hesitant in his choice of allies, and under whose direct leadership the present Constitution was created. It should have been radically, thoroughly reworked from the start, discarding everything outmoded, but instead it was patched up and adapted to suit the changing correlation of forces. And now it has rebounded on us!

We ourselves created this legal monster, the Congress of People's Deputies: cumbersome, awkward, and ill-adapted to legislative activity. We ourselves gave it absolute power to decide all issues (even in the highest instance), with no thought for any kind of counterbalance. That sort of thing does not happen in a democratic state. The concept of sharing power, which everyone now makes a show of understanding, requires leading structures of authority always to be able to influence and restrain one another. Otherwise the situation risks becoming uncontrollable at critical times—something we could have encountered if the congress had taken a tough, hardline position. We should draw conclusions from this for the future, ready for when we draft a new constitution. Incidentally, it is extremely significant who is now so concerned about constitutional legality. It explains a great deal. After all, the congress was not so much concerned with legal niceties. It was a question of major policies. It was mainly yesterday's men who stood up for the firm rule of law. Accusations of Gorbachev's attempting a constitutional coup were not made by chance. They convey—in reverse, it is true—the essence of what happened: Desperate attempts by conservatives to use all remaining constitutional means to turn the tide of powerful democratic transformations and prevent administrative-edict structures from being dismantled for ever. In other words, some deputies were trying to achieve the aims pursued by the coup—using constitutional institutions this time. The sublimely calm face of Ye. Ligachev appearing on the television screen during the report from the congress, with his firm reply to a journalist's question: "I am in favor of retaining the old USSR Supreme Soviet," was highly symbolic. There is no need to comment. While criticizing individual aspects of Gorbachev's actions, democratic deputies strongly supported him in essence. They were prepared to withdraw with dignity, leaving the way free for others. But the conservatives fought to the bitter end: New, post-coup elections would have meant inevitable defeat.

Sovereignty for the Republics or Sovereignty for the People?

The new, temporary structures of authority intended for a transitional period are not simply justified: They are essential. After all, we now have to resolve completely new tasks, working in new, qualitatively different conditions. The old structures would not be able to do this, even if everyone in them were replaced (we could appoint a new USSR Cabinet of Ministers, for example). They identify wholly with the old, overthrown mechanism of power, which was oriented toward the center first and foremost. Completely different institutional and functional approaches are needed now. It is extremely significant that these new approaches have been sought wherever possible within the framework of the existing constitution. That, actually, is why the Congress of People's Deputies was convened. Its main task was to ensure continuity of power and a smooth, problem-free transition from the old structures to the new. Fortunately, the sharp change in the correlation of forces has made that possible.

The most distinctive feature of the new structures is the substantial change in the nature of the relationship between the center and the republics, with the comparative role of the former reduced and, on the other hand, the importance of the latter increased. The center is simply no longer in a position to lead and set the tone—and it never will be again. Henceforth, it will have a different function: to coordinate the republics' efforts to form a new union and help resolve any problems that may arise. In other words, fundamentally new approaches and a new philosophy of the mechanism of power are now emerging, and they will form the basis of the future Union treaty and the new constitution.

Incidentally, on the whole there is no difference between the democrats and the conservatives with regard to their ultimate aim: to preserve the Union. The difference lies in their methods of achieving this aim. The conservatives want to preserve the old Union at any price. But now, in light of the recent decisions taken by legitimate bodies of authority in many republics and with dozens of countries all over the world giving diplomatic recognition to the Baltic states' independence, stating the issue in this way would be outright political provocation. It would mean open confrontation with the world community and a new spiral of international tension, with all the resulting consequences. That is why, when bandying this

slogan about, the conservatives prefer to keep quiet about the methods of backing it up: Tanks are the only possible method!

The democrats, on the other hand, want a union founded on completely different principles—a union that is advantageous and necessary to the republics themselves above all. They have no need to be sly about their methods of achieving this aim. Those methods can only be: first, to consider the sovereign will of sovereign republics, i.e. their own interests; and, second, to intensively develop market relations in the economy—you could not think of a more powerful means of uniting the country. So the democrats are in a stronger position by far.

In parallel to creating new, temporary bodies of authority, the president proposed—and the congress approved his proposal—that USSR people's deputies remain in office for the term for which they were elected. Why? As a tactical measure (to soften the blow and limit deputies' objections) it is, of course, understandable. But do we need this kind of maneuvering and these half-measures now? The August events dotted a lot of "i's" and showed who's who. Before they took place, it was still possible to discuss the role and participation of the old Union parliament in the preparation of a new union and constitution. But now those questions no longer arise.

The body in question was elected in another country: in the "inviolable union" of eternally united republics. It was elected in another age, when the CPSU held undivided sway and the very idea of a multiparty system or the possibility of open political struggle were considered criminal. It was elected by another society, where there was no private sector and the "harmony of interests" of the working class and collective farm peasantry reigned sUpreme. None of this is even mentioned now. The country has moved a long way ahead. Consequently, it would be only fair if deputies' mandates were terminated ahead of time without any further quibbling. It would simply remove needless tension—an additional factor destabilizing the situation—between our rapidly changing society and the old parliament.

The congress marked the beginning of a new era in our country's development. Its documents essentially signify the legal termination of the old USSR's existence. But it lacked the courage to adopt a direct decision on this matter. (Even the president avoided a direct answer in an interview given immediately after the congress). A pity. It is time we learned not to be afraid to call a spade a spade: Our society is no longer the society it once was.

PRAVDA Article Demands Public Coup Trial

PM2309132791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 91 Single Edition p 1

[Article by Georgiy Ovcharenko: "A Thousand and One Versions of the Putsch. The Court Will Chose One of Them. But To Make People Believe It, the Junta's Trial Must Be Absolutely Frank and Open"]

[Text] Meanwhile rumors have been circulating around Moscow that the putschists' trial might be held in camera. When I asked officials about this, they did not confirm these rumors, it is true, but they did not deny them either. As someone who has been writing on legal topics for many years, this made me prick up my ears. Today, when democracy in our country has, as they say, won what amounts to its greatest victory over totalitarianism, can it really be that people will not learn the whole truth about the events of August and will be forced simply to take on trust the truth as dished up by a judge, just as they used to?

I venture the hypothesis that people will not believe a sentence passed behind doors that are closed to glasnost. And not just because our judiciary was for years so humiliated by the powers that be that it came to look like a weather vane submissively confirming the rightness of whoever blew on it hardest. What is also particularly significant and extraordinary is the nature of the upcoming court case, and the conflicting versions, speculations, and rumors that are currently growing up around it like barnacles on a ship's bottom. And if the court does not publicly strip away these incrustations or tell the whole truth about the "Soviet leadership" conspiracy, the consequences not just for the future adulthood of our democracy, which is still going around in short pants, but also for the prestige of the two presidents—the president of the country and the president of Russia—could be really unpredictable.

I will attempt to explain my point of view.

Today only two legal grounds exist for examining court cases in camera: if the case deals with intimate aspects of the lives of the accused and the witnesses; or if state secrets are involved. Understandably, I hope, we can immediately discard the first point. In my view we cannot make use of the second either: First, it is doubtful whether secret documents could have any significance as evidence in a trial such as this; and second, many of these have already been published in the press. If the junta is to be tried behind closed doors, then it is simply because someone wants it that way, because it benefits someone. Whom?

And at this point one of the many versions being spawned in the press immediately springs to mind. Namely the version which says that a far larger group of senior politicians, including M. Gorbachev, knew about the putsch than those who are currently languishing in Detention Center No. 4.

In fact the organization and attempted execution of the coup do lead us to think along these lines. It must be agreed that the junta acted with incomprehensible carelessness, inconsistency, and lack of professionalism (and this from Yazov, Kryuchkov, and Varennikov?!), as though they were looking over their shoulders at someone, waiting for instructions. The remark that this

was a purely "amateur putsch, ineptly executed by talentless people" is simply naive. I would remind readers that all the conspirators were the lawful incumbents of the highest state offices, and that they had sufficiently competent agents and forces legitimately subordinate to them who, on receiving the appropriate order during the night of 18-19 August, would have had no difficulty in neutralizing, isolating, interning etc. all those who later stood in the putschists' way. And any special forces battalion commander would have accomplished this operation in two hours. Does this mean that no such order was given?

Some may retort: Mindful of the extremely grave economic situation of the country and the population, the conspirators hoped that the people would be "hooked" by their populist promises and support them. So, they say, the conspirators did not proceed to extreme measures at the initial stage, but when people subsequently came to the defense of the "White House" it was already too late. But this too is hard to believe. First, no putschist in any country, let alone here, has ever thought first of the people and then of himself. Second, however unpalatable it may seem, we must agree with what Yuriy Vlasovyy said on television: On the whole, the country and Moscow received news of the coup with extreme indifference. And had it not been for the resolute action of our "third estate" with its newly acquired confidence and its perception of the threat posed to enterprise by a new dose of totalitarianism, had it not thrown all its available strength (material and combative) onto Freedom Square during those days, there is no clue as to how things would have turned out.

Incidentally, there is also this question: Let us imagine for a moment that the junta had held onto power—it is clear what would have happened to the country; but what about the president of the country? Let us recall: At his first and last press conference as leader of the conspirators, the country's former Vice President Yanayev stated that he was still hoping to work with his friend Gorbachev. Was this a brazen lie? But when the putsch had already collapsed, why then did he and other junta members fly not to other countries a little further away from the sin they had committed, but cap in hand to Mikhail Sergeyevich? To make a last attempt to force the president to acknowledge that he was ill? To kill him? But let us strain our memories once more: On that day M. Gorbachev was already in touch with Moscow, and Russian deputies had flown out to see him—something the putschists must have known about; and his personal bodyguard—32 not exactly feeble young men—had remained loyal to Mikhail Sergeyevich. Despite what is now being desribed as their ineptitude, "Yanayev and Co." could not have remained unaware of all this. But they flew to Foros. To seek a pardon?

I think there are more riddles arising from the events of August than we will get answers to, even if the homegrown junta case is heard in open court session. Moreover, rumors have started to circulate again that three of the principal characters will not live to see the trial. One of them, they are saying, will die of an attack of something or an infarction, the second from cirrhosis of the liver, and the third will be given quick-acting poison by loyal people inside the detention center. A laughing matter? Against the background of the post-August suicides in rather strange circumstances, I personally find no cause for merriment...

I am sure of one thing: Whoever was behind the conspirators, and for whatever reason the coup was staged, even if the reason was a noble one, it was an illegal and anticonstitutional act, and consequently it is a punishable offense. And people should know all the sources, all the reasons and springs, and all the characters in this sinister crime and cynical violation of democracy.

Therefore I demand, and as a citizen of this country I have the right to do so, that the putschists be tried openly. I am sure that everyone will support me in this demand.

Buzgalin on Need for New Left-Wing Party

PM2409105791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Interview with A. Buzgalin, associate professor at Moscow State University, by F. Belelyubskiy; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction: "Where Are You, Communists? We Are No 'Underground Organization'..."]

[Text] "WE ARE NO 'UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION'"! That was what A. Buzgalin, associate professor at Moscow State University, said. TASS circulated a report 9 September about an illegal meeting of communists. A commentary in the 11 September edition indicates that PRAVDA deliberately failed to reproduce this erroneous report. My colleagues and I are grateful to PRAVDA journalists.

[Belelyubskiy] What actually happened?

[Buzgalin] In fact, a session of the coordinating council of the CPSU's Marxist Platform was held. The majority supported the idea of the need for a new Communist Party. But it was split into two action groups. The first, in my view, is close to the centralization stance held by "Communist Initiative" (A. Prigarin). A. Kryuchkov is the leader of the other group. Their position puts the emphasis on democrats, not only on socialist choice and a communist future.

The minority (myself included) backed the initiative submitted by the leaders of the Socialist Party, the anarcho-syndicalists, and Moscow's trade unions for a party of labor to be set up. This organization aims to defend hired workers and develop production and territorial self-management.

[Belelyubskiy] What is your opinion of the overall state of the communist movement today following the suspension of the CPSU's activity? Central Committee, obkom

[oblast committee], and gorkom [city party committee] buildings have been sealed. The apparatus has been dissolved and...the Communist Party has disappeared? What is happening among the "grass roots": Have they resigned themselves to the ban and kept quiet? Are they playing a waiting game? Were they pleased at the chance to "vanish" from the political horizon?

[Buzgalin] I cannot answer this in two words. The CPSU has not been a party for the last 60 years. It was no more and no less than one of the most important bureaucratic pillars of the authoritarian system. "Rank-and-file" communists were as close to the party-state nomenklatura as all other citizens. Nor was the CPSU an organization of like-minded people. Everyone joined it: from Nina Andreyeva to Boris Yeltsin. Naturally, when the party disintegrated both neo-Stalinists and liberal democrats emerged from it. The disintegration of the apparatus paralyzed the CPSU. Today the paralysis is receding: The CPSU's "fingers" have begun to move and, in line with the spirit of the time, they have begun to say that "they are absolutely autonomous and will go their own way."

First, the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia [DPCR] has already been formed, with the vice president as its leader. In accordance with its organizers' statements this party will, effectively, not be a communist or even a social democratic party but one of the traditional liberal democratic organizations. What is more, the DPCR may now be a center of attraction for opportunists. Second, a directly opposing flank of conservatives ("Communist Initiative"), who effectively want to reconstitute the old centralized—but ennobled—structures, along with the neo-Stalinists ("Yedinstvo"), has emerged.

Third, there are the above-cited initiatives of the leaders of the Marxist Platform.

Fourth and last, there are people who support the creation of a party of labor.

[Belelyubskiy] Why did you decide to back the initiative for setting up a party of labor and not call for the organization of a new party, the CPSU's rightful successor?

[Buzgalin] The initiative to set up a new party—the "League of Communists," heir to the best traditions of the CPSU—was submitted by some members of the coordinating council of the CPSU's Marxist Platform. Unlike these comrades, I believe that the CPSU has been discredited once and for all by its leadership's bureaucratic policy and the conformism of most of its "rank-and-file" members. Another party must perform the task of left-wing opposition. But at the same time we are not renouncing the traditions, the defense of social justice, democracy, humanism, and the friendship of the peoples accumulated within the framework of the Russian socialist movement in its almost 100-year history. These traditions must be continued and gain a new lease of life in the qualitatively new historical situation.

Neither the revival of the CPSU nor the creation of new communist parties will perform the task of setting up a left-wing, that is, democratic and socialist, opposition. Without such an opposition any, even the most splendid democracy, will degenerate into dictatorship or something like it. The wave of populism swamping us and attempts to organize a new "witch-hunt" render quite feasible the threat of a Pinochet-style dictatorship based on private ownership and the market. There is only one guarantee against this threat—real democracy.

[Belelyubskiy] How do you regard the report of your "illegal status"?

[Buzgalin] I will repeat once more—patiently. We are totally open to all supporters and critics. We want not conspiracy but dialogue. Our telephone number is: 299-77-39.

Media & Journalism

PRAVDA Journalists Appeal for Property

PM2409153391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 91 Single Edition pp 1-2

[PRAVDA journalists' collective's address to readers and colleagues: "Journalists Too Need Property. To Our Readers and Colleagues"]

[Text] It is an established fact that nearly all journalists working in the media in the USSR own nothing. The vast majority of editorial offices is housed in premises that are the property of publishing houses and various departments and organizations. And although these premises, as a rule, have been paid for dozens of times over by the journalists' labor, we are witnessing the fact that in the new management conditions many publications are already being told to vacate the space they occupy for all manner of reasons: political, commercial, administrative.

The constantly rising cost of paper, printing services, and distribution have already resulted in economic bankruptcy for dozens of papers and journals. It would be no exaggeration to say that hundreds of new publications will close next. Journalists' sole property at the moment is their pens. But every person and every collective is entitled to property that has been created and multiplied by his or its labor. It is absolutely clear to us that, if editorial collectives were to have an official and formal right to own the premises and equipment they use today, they would be able to survive in market conditions and would be able to freely express and defend their views irrespective of the changing political and economic situation in the country.

In broader terms, the question of journalists' collectives' property is a question of the future development and strengthening of all democratic principles. The truth is that at the moment every single newspaper, journal, radio station, and television station is economically

dependent on publishers, paper producers, owners of buildings, technical facilities, and communications. It is hard to predict what will happen in the future. The transfer to labor collectives' ownership of what they possess at the moment will without doubt be in broader terms yet another major step toward media economic independence and, consequently, the political stabilization of society. We are sure that most publications, even if only a decade old, have already paid for their premises.

If publications do not have economic confidence in the future there can be no genuine press freedom. The law on privatization must not be an economic lever for pressuring the media. We are appealing to journalist colleagues on all kinds of publications—unless the question of ownership of editorial offices, publishing houses, radio, and television is resolved in a civilized manner today, there will be a new press monopoly tomorrow. To prevent this from happening, we propose the creation of an association to protect journalists' property rights.

The collective of PRAVDA journalists

Problems of PRAVDA Unavailability Detailed

PM2509080591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 91 Single Edition p 6

[Report by N. Lyaporov under "Questions to the Point" rubric: "Who Sees PRAVDA as the Poor Relation?"]

[Text] It was morning but I was unable to buy PRAVDA in any of the numerous Soyuzpechat [Main Administration for the Distribution of Printed Matter] newsstands in the "Sokol" subway station area. I complained about this to one of the news vendors, but she threw up her hands: "What's it got to do with us? Today I was given a total of...four copies of,PRAVDA. And generally I get no more than eight to 10."

"And how many would you like?"

"Well, not less than 50."

"So order them, request them!"

"Do you think they take any notice of us? There is one reply: Take what you are given..."

This very brief interview was with the proprietor of newsstand no. 1203. But others—and I talked with many—said virtually the same thing. Reproaches were directed at staffers of Soyuzpechat's city association and interrayon agencies—it is they who control all Moscow retail sales. I approached them for explanations.

"They haven't got enough PRAVDA's?" V. Romanov, chief of the retail section of Soyuzpechat's city association, said in astonishment. "It's their own fault, they should order more..."

Who is right—the news vendors or the bosses? It is time this was investigated. Especially as we are not only talking about PRAVDA. People in Moscow are frequently unable to buy other publications which are in demand. It is relevant to add that a fair proportion of newsstands are completely deserted. In the area around the "Dinamo" subway station and the "Sovetskaya" Hotel I found only one open out of four, with a long line winding around it. The rest either had smashed windows or nobody to work in them. Can this really be of no concern to Soyuzpechat leaders? Surely the way the mechanism for distributing publications—including retail publications—is organized determines the satisfaction of readers' demands and the material welfare both of publishers and Soyuzpechat staffers themselves.

Of course, fluctuations in readers' sympathies are inevitable, and one cannot fail to take them into account. And it is all the more necessary to know these sympathies a little more precisely, and not to determine them from hearsay or by guesswork. For example, there is a version that is current to this day among officials of Soyuzpechat's Moscow City Association that the PRAVDA newspaper is not in demand, and therefore, they say, it is not worth cluttering up newsstands with it. Yes it is incorrect, this version is out of date!

"I am getting the new PRAVDA direct from the publishing house," the proprietor of newsstand no. 2359 in Ulitsa Pravda says. "I sell up to 100 copies of the newspaper daily..."

Eight to 10 and 100. Isn't the amplitude of differences and fluctuations in demand literally at neighboring newsstands and on the very same days too great? At present, they report at the same city retail section, around 45,000 copies of PRAVDA are sold in Moscow daily. But it could be double or triple that were it not for bureaucratic indifference to the newspaper's route to the reader. Or else direct opposition to its distribution.

I ask an old soldier wearing a smart sweater who has based himself at the newsstand in Leningradskiy Prospekt: Why do you not have PRAVDA on sale? The old soldier stays silent, but when I repeat the question he assails me with such frenzied abuse that a woman standing beside covers her ears. We will leave the abuse to the news vendor's conscience, but the essence of his reply boiled down to the fact that, quote, "your paper" is not needed by anyone. A shopper indignantly remarked in response to this: It is not for you but for readers to judge whether a newspaper is or is not needed. But it is your business to provide it.

A sensible remark, and of course it applies to everybody who has taken on the difficult business of being middleman between the publisher and the reader.

The middleman must above all be attentive and reliable.

TASS Reviews 25 Sep Central Press

LD2509092791 Moscow TASS in English 0546 GMT 25 Sep 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS Headline]

[Text] Moscow September 25 TASS—Newspapers highlight a peace mission by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev designed to find a settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA publishes the full text of a communique that was signed in Zheleznovodsk on Nagorno-Karabakh. PRAVDA carries extracts from the document.

The communique is a historic document that charted the course towards resolving the Karabakh conflict, Boris Yeltsin told reporters.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reports the details of a meeting attended by Yeltsin and Nazarbayev in Stepanakert on September 22.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA publishes the results of an opinion poll conducted by the Rossaka Centre on September 15-19 among 1,500 residents.

"The huge authority enjoyed by Boris Yeltsin and other democratic leaders has greatly increased after the putsch and is now the most influential factor, consolidating society, but most likely, until the first decisive actions in the economic sphere," the newspaper write .

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes the final part of an article on parliamentary ethics by Anatoliy Denisov, chairman of the Soviet Commission on Parliamentary Ethics.

PRAVDA carries an interview with Defence Minister Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, who said that the ministry has an outsize staff that "can be painlessly cut by 20 to 30 per cent".

The press runs reports on the situation in flashpoints, including Georgia, Moldavia and Tajikistan, where a state of emergency has been declared in the capital Dushanbe. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes that "even if it proves possible to avoid bloodletting in Tajikistan, the republic can no longer escape economic losses".

The newspaper devotes a page to articles about ethnic problems in major cities, including Moscow, Kiev and St. Petersburg.

Speaking in a PRAVDA interview, Gennadiy Semigin, vice-president and board chairman of the Congress of Russian Business People, stresses the need to represent and protect business quarters in bodies of government and administration, promote market economics, achieve better organisation in the entrepreneurial movement, and find allies. "By joint efforts, we want to create a market in Russia and make this country rich," he says.

Nikolay Krivomazov in PRAVDA speaks about Emma Yazov, Tamara Shenin, Lyudmila Lukyanov, G. Yanayev and Yekaterina Kryuchkov in an article headlined "is it easy to be 'Kremlin wives' or a forced intrusion into other people's grief". He argues for setting all arrested plotters free, because "a trial has already taken place. Everyone has condemned them as one's outlook and education saw fit, while, for their part, they are 'executing themselves' in mental anguish, according to Yekaterina Kryuchkov".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reports that Lukyanov has been moved out of the prison hospital and back to his cell without a prior consultation with his doctor.

The president of the national flight personnel trade union, A. Malinovskiy, says in TRUD that pilots are still on a ready-to- strike status. "Frankly, we do not want to strike. But we shall if pilots' rights continue to be ignored and if they conduct active rather than imitation talks with us," he warns.

TRUD and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA publish articles about the future of the SOviet nuclear power industry.

In its international news sections, the press focuses on the [passage indistinct].

Economic

Planned Economic Union Treaty Agreements Reported

PM2009121191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by I. Demchenko: "Additional Agreements for Treaty on Economic Union"]

[Text] The draft treaty on the economic union adopted as a basis by the State Council provides for the conclusion of 21 additional agreements regulating relations between the union's members. The Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy has instructed the Union ministries and departments to elaborate the drafts of these documents by 5 October. The committee has made a similar request to the USSR State Bank.

The agreements will include so to speak permanent agreements operating for the entire period of the treaty and temporary agreements which it is proposed to conclude for a year or several years. The former include documents like an agreement on the status and powers of the organs of the economic union, on the procedure and terms for the introduction of national currencies, on antimonopoly policy in the joint market, on the procedure for shifting to common principles of international economic relations with states which have not joined the Union, on the sharing and mechanisms for servicing the state domestic and foreign debt of the USSR, on the unification of economic legislation within the framework of the Union, and so forth. Agreements are concluded temporarily on prices and volumes of deliveries of goods under interstate contract, on the budget, on tax and customs policy, and some others.

The fact that the preparation of the new documents has been assigned to old Union structures may give rise to a

certain guardedness. Although, on the other hand, the committee has no others under its subordination. In addition it would hardly be sensible not to use the rich experience and potential of truly skilled and competent specialists merely on the grounds that they work in central departments. That would be the selfsame political interference in professional matters, in the elaboration of those destructive consequences the committee is now engaged.

It has become known to us that Ye. Yasin, the general director of the Science and Industry Union's committee for economic reform and one of the authors of the "500 days" program, has been instructed to form working groups which are to use the documents prepared by the union organs and the proposals from the republics to elaborate specific draft agreements. Yevgeniy Grigoryevich noted that the only criterion for selecting specialists for the working groups is their high degree of professionalism. Answering a question about whether the drafts they will have prepared will not be greeted with distrust, since they come again from the center, he said:

"The republics must realize that the center no longer exists, it has been destroyed. But with it the opportunities for asking for something, for citing someone's errors, have also disappeared. In the economic union all have equal rights and all are equally responsible. And the responsibility of politicians presupposes that they must primarily heed the specialists, especially in the critical situation in which we have found ourselves when there is essentially nothing to share.

It is planned that the working groups will set to work within one and a half to two weeks. Next Friday the first session of their leaders will be held, including workers of union and republican management apparatuses, bankers, and major economic leaders."

RSFSR's Saburov Views Economic Reforms

PM2409152691 Moscow IAN Press Release in English (undated)

[Unattributed interview with RSFSR Economics Minister Yevgeniy Saburov, reprinted "in full" from EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN, No. 37; date, place not given: "As Political Passions Recede, Reform Will Proceed Quickly. Yevgeniy Saburov, Minister of Economics of the Russian Federation"]

[Text] I have never even thought of a ministerial job. I worked in an academic research institute, went to bed when I felt like it and got up late. So when the education minister of the Russian Federation, E. Dneprov, offered me the post of his deputy for economics, it really made me laugh. But the friends persuaded me, so from the March of this year I have been in the group of the Russian Council of Ministers for the preparation of economic reforms in the republic. That is why the recent appointment to the post of minister of economics of the Russian Federation was no longer a surprise for me.

QUESTION: What were the first steps undertaken by you at the new post?

ANSWER: We have set up a fairly powerful and efficient machinery on the basis of the former republican Committee for Economics, which is capable of implementing the government's reforms.

As regards the USSR Ministry of Economics, everything here depends on how the republics and the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR decide the future of the Union, by which I mean its future structure and the character of economic relations between the regions. Will the new Centre need central economic ministries, and if it will, how many. Will all the republics go ahead with the reforms as they have been coordinated, or will each of them go its own way? Without answering these questions, it is impossible to speak of the future of federal structures.

QUESTION: Your present position is quite unique: you are the minister of economics of both the Russian Federation and the USSR. What is your vision of the borderline between federal and republican jurisdiction in this respect?

ANSWER: The most important thing in this position is to survive. When a single person is in charge of two ministries of economics, he needs condolences and "intensive care".

The Ministry of Economics of the USSR must work out general directions for the development of the economy and tackle its major problems. Such ministries exist in the countries even with the most advanced market economy. In Japan, for example, it has a staff of about 11,000. In contrast to them, we have been obsessed with the idea of staff reduction. Besides, the average pay of ministry workers is low by today's standards. The USSR Ministry of Economics, for example, has a staff of 1,800 and the corresponding Russian ministry - 1,200. Their pay is an insult to high-grade professional economists which they are. I won't even name it so as not to shock readers.

QUESTION: Are you not afraid that your staff will leave you?

ANSWER: I am. We are being left by specialists, people with valuable connections who know and can do a great deal. And yet I have succeeded in drafting into my team very capable young scientists who have come to work not for the sake of money, but because of the opportunity to implement the reforms. This is precisely the main task of both ministries of economics: the republican and the federal. All research institutes of both ministries and many other scientific teams will be engaged in the accomplishment of this task.

Our academic research institutes have a fair amount of good, workable ideas. As it is, in my opinion the reform programmes suggested by Western scientists and economists are considerably inferior to ours. This includes the

question of the delineation of the functions between the centre and the republic. We have some propositions on where the borderline between their powers and jurisdiction should be drawn. I repeat that a great deal here depends on the degree of coordination between the republics. This is because we are dealing not with a ministry supervising the performance of some enterprises, but with the implementation of reforms and with macro-economic proportions.

Of course, one can visualize the new union as another UN or "Common Market", though even there they have some general, common structures. Without coordinated actions with one another the republics will get nowhere. If in the political sense, the republics have drifted far apart from one another, in the economic sense, there has been no such divergence. The occasional facts of economic absurdities: customs offices, road barriers and so on - are caused by the perversity of our entire economic system. When the reforms start to materialize, all such things will go.

QUESTION: I know that your team ha a fairly well-considered scenario for the implementation of reforms in the Russian Federation. Could you please tell our readers about it?

ANSWER: There have been many different programmes of reforms, but for some reason their designers have never worked out actual scenarios. A scenario of economic reforms means concrete measures: What is to be done earlier and what later, when and where exactly. We have constantly complicated the scenario with various possible difficulties. For example, the population may throw all the money onto the commodity market or, conversely, invest it all in securities. In other words, we have modelled real life without any ideological blinkers and worked out our own line of action to ensure economic growth. We have paid great attention to privatization, which, of course, is the key issue.

And yet we must not forget that this is the transitional period, where every new month we have a new economy. So the scenario has naturally grown outdated in front of our eyes. Did we know about this? Yes, we did, but the most important thing for me was that our team should learn to behave rationally and effectively in any unforeseen situation.

It was assumed that privatization would begin in summer, during the harvest season, in the food production sector. We thought that Pavlov would manage to hold back inflation with piratic price rises, but the putsch upset all our plans and time was irreversibly lost. The primary task now is to re-organize the fuel and energy and defence industries. This will be followed by the privatization programme and the establishment of financial institutions hitherto unknown in this country: stock exchanges, for example. This is a very different thing from the exchanges which we have now.

There are quite different approaches in this sphere. To a large extent, our behavior will depend not on theoretical directives but on the actual situation.

QUESTION: Have you considered the variant of the introduction by Russia of its own or of a parallel currency in the republic?

ANSWER: We have considered all possible variants. I am not going to deny that there are proponents of an independent Russian currency in our group. This, however, is not meant as protection against other republican currencies. I don't understand what is to be feared here. There are rich natural resources, oil and other assets behind the rouble, but I don't know what is behind the lats (Latvian currency), for example. Protection against the dollar is a serious thing indeed, but that is a problem of consolidation of the rouble.

The question of a parallel currency has been considered, too, although I don't see the prerequisites for its introduction now. There are situations, however, where this may prove quite handy, but we would dearly like to avoid such a course of events.

QUESTION: Have you discussed your scenarios with scientists and specialists?

ANSWER: Yes, our scenario has been thoroughly studied by scientists.

Production specialists had some critical remarks on some of our points, but the general tone was approving: thank God, at last we have a plan of action.

The failure of the coup has shown that the people are not a herd. Those who saw them as a heard have made a bad mistake. The people are prepared to defend freedom at the cost of their lives. This inspires optimism in us. I think that as political passions settle down, the reform will go ahead at fast pace.

QUESTION: Where would you prefer to stay and work: in the federal or in the republican ministry?

A: I am not a government clerk. High posts and positions mean little to me. The most important thing for me is the opportunity to implement reforms. Besides, I am a member of the democratic government of Russia and am glad to work with Ivan Silayev. He is the only person who can supervise the implementation of reforms today, so I will work together with him.

Economy Committee Meets; Functions Not Discussed

LD2409190891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] The sitting of the Committee for the Operational Management of the USSR National Economy ended in Moscow this evening. The question which probably

aroused the greatest interest—the question of the structure and functions of the interrepublican economic committee—was not discussed. Discussion of this question has been postponed until Friday.

With regard to the other questions on the agenda, the members of the Committee unanimously rejected the draft prepared by the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry for the reorganization of this sector, regarding it as an attempt to preserve the obsolete administrative structure. It was decided to continue the elaboration of principles and the improvement of the mechanism for the distribution and use of foreign humanitarian aid.

Moscow Oil Exchange To Increase Capital Base

OW2509015491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2106 GMT 24 Sep 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report dated 'September 25, 1991'"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Set up in early August by 55 major Soviet oil producing companies and refineries, the Moscow Oil Exchange unveiled plans to "considerably increase" its capital base because, said an exchange official, its subscription effort had been "very fruitful." Its share costs today 150,000 rubles for Soviet enterprises and $75,000 for foreign companies.

The exchange plans to specialize in trading in oil and oil products and to pattern its operations on those of foreign oil exchanges. A specialised insurance company will be established as the exchange's branch that will insure transactions.

Another big oil exchange, that in the city of Nizhnevartovsk, West Siberia, is to open on Wednesday, offering more than 1 million tons of oil at 1000 rubles/ton.

Six Percent Decline Expected in Fish Take Rates

OW2409022691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2205 GMT 23 Sep 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report dated 'September 24, 1991'"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Soviet experts say the rates of fish takes may be 6 percent down this year to 9.3 million tons.

Fuel shortages are the main reason. Other problems include limited opportunities of the procesing industry caused by shortages of cardboard, vegetable oil, tin, aluminium and salt.

Last year's fish take totalled 9.9 million tons.

Fisheries Ministry To Get Fewer Ships

OW2409022891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2205 GMT 23 Sep 91

[From the "Soviet Business Report dated 'September 24, 1991'"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The USSR Fisheries Ministry will receive 108 fishing boats less than Soviet and foreign shipbuilders have been expected to provide, says Deputy Minister V. Lushnikov. The Soviet fishing fleet needs new 258 ships this year.

The ministry official also said that Soviet shipbuilders have ever more often demanded payment in hard currency. In general they prefer selling ships to foreign customers. The official says the Soviet Union has failed to pay for nine ships ordered to be built in Germany to this day.

The Soviet fishing fleet has a total of 17 thousand self-propelled ships.

Poll Asks Where Individuals Keep Savings

OW2509071391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0617 GMT 25 Sep 91

[From "Viewpoint"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the "Data" news agency, in August the National Public Opinion Studies Center took an opinion poll among 3,004 respondents throughout the country asking them how they keep their savings. It was allowed to give several answers.

32 percent keep their savings in banks.

15 percent choose to buy precious metals.

1 out of 10 would like to buy hard currency.

7 percent fearlessly keep saved cash at home.

4 percent buy state-loan bonds and state securities.

4 out of 10 said they have no savings at all.

1 out of 10 found it difficult to answer.

Margin of error - 3 percent.

Military

Defense Ministry Bans Forces From Ethnic Conflicts

LD2409114191 Moscow TASS in English 1103 GMT 24 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Konstantin Voitsekhovich and Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow September 24 TASS—The Soviet Defence Ministry has instructed regional military commanders to prevent the armed forces from becoming

involved in internal, including ethnic, conflicts in sovereign republics, Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Vladimir Lobov told TASS today.

He said that Monday's order by Colonel-General Ivan Fuzhenko, commander of the Turkestan Military District encompassing the whole of Soviet Central Asia, not to move troops into Tajik cities is fully in line with those instructions.

The Tajik parliament declared a state of emergency throughout the republic the same day.

The refusal by the armed forces to take part in resolving conflicts in the republics, according to observers, attests to the new Soviet military leadership's desire to deliver the army from extrinsic policing functions that it had to perform previously.

Defense Officials Cited on Military Reform

Shaposhnikov Comments

PM2409114991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 91 p 1

[RIA report: "USSR Defense Ministry Warns...Reform of USSR Armed Forces Will Begin in First Half of 1992"]

[Text] The practical implementation of the reform of the Soviet Armed Forces will begin in the first half of 1992, USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov has declared. Speaking at a 20 September news conference, he said that the Ministry of Defense "will submit its views on the reform for discussion to the State Council in October."

According to Shaposhnikov, the term of compulsory service will probably be reduced from two years to 18 months, and during the first six months servicemen will serve on the territory of their own republic. The minister denied rumors of mass dismissals of officers, declaring that "only officers who have served the prescribed terms of service" will be subject to cuts. He said that as of 1 October the pay of officers will increase by an average of 30 to 40 percent, and most of the military budget will be used to construct housing for servicemen.

Incidentally

In the opinion of Marshal Shaposhnikov, USSR minister of defense, the Soviet troops can be withdrawn from the Baltic countries only after 1994. At the 20 September news conference, the minister also came out against the creation of defense ministries and national armies in the republics, pointing out that, in his opinion, defense committees and "separate formations of the national guard-type to guard important installations" must exist in the republics.

Ivashov on Reform Committee

LD2309182291 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovki]

[Text] Moscow September 23 TASS— The setting up of the committee at the USSR State Council for the Military Reform will help create real conditions for a scientific concept of profound reform of the arm forces and all state structures related to the country's defence, said General Leonid Ivashov, chief of the directorate of the USSR Defence Ministry.

Ivashov gave an interview to TASS today in connection with the publication of the USSR president's decree on setting up the committee which is to be headed by General of the Army Konstantin Kobets.

Ivashov believes that the new committee should include a broad range of specialists—representatives of state authorities, of sovereign republics, scientific organisations, people's deputies and professional military.

He said that the earlier devised project had a lop-sided character and envisaged changes only in the structures of the forces. "It would not have resolved the main problem—adjusting the country's defencies to recent world events," he said.

Ivashov believes that the military reform should be a system of measures related to the interests of virtually all structures of the state.

General Staff, Republic Delegations Discuss Reform

PM2409112391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Major A. Yegorov: "On Road to Military Reform"]

[Text] At the USSR Armed Forces General Staff the study of material relating to consultative meetings between the USSR Defense Ministry leadership and representatives of the sovereign republics on working out general approaches to the formulation of qualitatively different views of Union defense policy is continuing.

According to Colonel Dmitriy Afinogenov, a General Staff officer who participated in the consultative meeting, despite the fact that it proved impossible to achieve unity of positions or views on reform in the Armed Forces, the work that was done is being assessed positively: A first step has been taken in the direction of formulating basic areas of military reform, a start has been made in discussing problems in the republics' governments and parliaments, and control of nuclear strategic forces remains with the center.

Answering a question about who specifically took part in the meeting, Dmitriy Aleksandrovich named among others Colonel General P. Grachev, USSR first deputy

defense minister and chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Defense Committee; Army General K. Kobets; V. Durdinets, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Defense and State Security Commission; Major General of Aviation K. Morozov, Ukrainian defense minister; Latvian Prime Minister I. Godmanis; Kazakhstan Republic State Counselor Yu. Khitrin; N. Kirtoki, general director of the Moldova Republic State Department on Military Questions; and Major General M. Grib, chairman of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Security, Defense, and Crime Commission.

In accordance with the decision of the consultative meeting participants, a special organ is to be established that will be able to formulate and implement military reform —a committee which will work under the USSR State Council. This work is already nearing completion. The 20 members of a subcommission from the USSR Defense Ministry have already been approved, including representatives from key directorates, the General Staff's Center for Operational-Stategic Research, the main and central directorates of the Defense Ministry Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Army, Air Force, and Navy, USSR people's deputies, military lawyers, and financial experts. It is intended that the committee will operate on a permanent basis, and moreover will be open to the press, radio, and television. Everyone must see the road to accord. This is especially important in view of the fact that the proposals put forward by the USSR defense minister, Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, which are designed to keep the Armed Forces intact, got a mixed reception from the delegations. A number of republics are sticking to the position of establishing joint Armed Forces on a republic basis, but the Baltic republics and Moldova are insisting on an immediate and complete withdrawal of the combined units and units stationed on their territory. "We understand the wishes of the sovereign republics," Colonel Afinogenov says, "but this is an extremely complex issue in political, economic, and military terms which requires detailed work." This is evidenced by the process of withdrawing our troops from the territory of East European countries.

The problem of the democratization of army life was also discussed at the consultative meeting. The USSR defense minister said that it is here, in the area of reforms that elevate the military man as an individual, give him social and economic guarantees, and revive the prestige and value of the profession of defending the homeland, that the broadest field of activity exists. Specific proposals were submitted, including a reduction to 18 months in the terms of service of soldiers and sergeants, a gradual switch by part of the army to service on a contract basis, the elimination of disciplinary battalions, and an amnesty for servicemen who have deserted from the Army and the Navy but who have not committed criminal offenses. All these proposals got a positive reception from the participants at the meeting. Work on them is now under way.

Tasks of Political Reorganization Group Cited

PM2409114191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by V. Litovkin: "Professionals Asked Not To Worry"]

[Text] A Defense Ministry commission for the abolition of military-political organs and the creation of combat training organs and structures for work with personnel in the Armed Forces has been formed by order of the USSR minister of defense. It is headed by Colonel General D. Volkogonov, adviser to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president on defense and security questions.

The Defense Ministry commission includes deputies of the Union and Russian Supreme Soviets, representatives of the public, and scientists, in addition to generals and officers of the central apparatus. It is small in size—just 25 members.

Its basic task is to prepare proposals on the new organs' tasks, their operating procedure, the deadlines for setting them up, and the reorganization of military-political educational institutions and social science departments; and to carry out the certification of officers now serving in the structures to be abolished.

"Professionals need not worry," Lieutenant Captain Mikhail Nenashev, leader of one of this commission's groups, told IZVESTIYA's correspondent. "All who want to serve in a new capacity and who wield authority in the collective will acquire this right. But neither will we keep anyone by force. Not even lieutenants. There are no obstacles for those wishing to leave."

Working within the commission there are groups on youth problems (there are 8,257 officers in the Army who are former Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] officials, and the Army Komsomol has 14 million rubles in its account—wise use must be made of this wealth); groups on the certification of political workers and their cadre structure; on liaison with the public and the press; on work with letters, statements, and suggeesions; and others.

Although the new commission has only been working for four days, it has already received several dozen letters. They include letters from commanding officers. They ask not to be deprived of reliable assistants—people who know how to and like to work with soldiers. No army can manage without such educators.

"In some places, on a reforming wave, people are trying to settle scores with principled, honest political officers," Nenashev said. "We know of such cases. But I wish to declare that the commission will not allow reprisals against people."

Well, it is a very topical task for our Army today not to lose a single worthy officer. It is to be resolved openly, democratically, and, most importantly, according to the law. Moral and legal law.

New Air Defense Commander Interviewed

PM2509100791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Sep 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Aviation Colonel General V.A. Prudnikov, newly-appointed commander in chief of the USSR Air Defense Forces and deputy minister of defense, by Major A. Ivanov under "First Interview In New Post" rubric; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction: "Aviation Colonel General V. Prudnikov: To Avoid Quick-Fire Decisions"]

[Text] As we have already reported, by decree of the country's president, Aviation Col. Gen. V. Prudnikov has been appointed commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces and USSR deputy minister of defense. Today Viktor Alekseyevich replies to the questions of our nonstaff correspondent.

[Ivanov] The times in which we live are complex and contradictory. The economic crisis, society's political instability, the republics' declarations of sovereignty, and the creation of national armed formations—all these are realities of the present day and age. What effect, in your view, might they have on defensive capability, in particular, on the fulfillment of tasks assigned to the Air Defense Forces?

[Prudnikov] Defense questions today are indeed in the extremely complex category. The situation in the country is changing rapidly, and it is difficult to predict what it will be in a month or two's time. But in my view it is important to preserve the integrity of the Armed Forces at all events. Only on this condition will the level of combat readiness which we have achieved be conserved, or the possibility of fulfilling to a high standard the tasks proper to the Army be maintained. All this relates to the Air Defense Forces also. Their fragmentation on "national lines" is on the point of having serious consequences.

Judge for yourself. Air defense is a ramified, multistage system. This system starts at the country's borders and is disposed in depth, having a very complex, automated control system. We monitor air space and all objects found in the air within the limits of the state borders and a 25-kilometer special regulations zone. We are "linked up" to a flying system with many states of the world which are interested in ensuring that the existing rhythm should not be disturbed.

With regard to combat tasks, here it is important for us tc receive information about the air situation as quickly as possible. For this the depth of the radar-covered area must be maintained. If we were to fragment the integral air defense system, it would require the creation of additional structures and an increase in information processing time, which would complicate the adoption of timely measures to deal with [po vozdeystviyu na] air targets. In other words, to disrupt the existing structures would have an adverse effect on the efficiency of the combat use of forces and resources and would significantly reduce the chances of repulsing an airstrike or an attack from space.

[Ivanov] How do you assess the present state of the Air Defense Forces?

[Prudnikov] Taken as a whole, the troops are fully mission capable, constantly on alert duty, and are capable of fulfilling tasks involved in safeguarding the country's air borders. But there are also problems which worry me as commander in chief, and which require urgent solution.

What do I mean? The existing structures need reforming. Some of them are insufficiently operative, which in certain conditions makes command and control more difficult. The troops' technical equipping has been causing serious concern in recent times. The disruption of the country's economy is having an appreciable effect on the supply of arms and combat equipment. Not only the quantitative, but also the qualitative indicators have declined.

The number one problem is draft resources. Already the personnel of many antiaircraft missile units and radiotechnical units are performing combat duty to the limits of their strength and abilities. Things are not right when we cannot replace the radar operators at the screens for days on end because there is no one to replace them with. And if we do not take measures in time, we will not be able to train new specialists to operate the equipment, and the position will deteriorate even further.

I think that we have lagged behind also in the adoption of new legislative acts concerning the Armed Forces. It is essential to amend our service regulations and bring them into line with the spirit of the times.

[Ivanov] A question that is much discussed is the expediency of the continued existence of the Air Defense Forces as an independent branch of the Armed Forces. Several options are proposed, including combining the Air Forces, the Air Defense Forces, and the Strategic Missile Forces into a single structure. I would like to know your opinion on this subject.

[Prudnikov] I think that it is entirely logical to pose such a problem in the discussion of the reform of the leading structures, and it should be studied from every angle. After all, the system which we have today was set up a long time ago, and requires a certain amount of improvement. But I want to make the following remark. The Air Defense Forces have been structurally improved over decades, which has allowed us to create the optimum combination of forces and resources. And I think that this quite firm and well-tried structure—especially at the grass-roots level, up to and including combined units and commands—should in no way be tampered with.

Reforming branches of the Armed Forces at the main commissariat level is another matter. If a new level in the command structure could help improve the command and control of troops, I would be in favor. But, I stress, the question must be studied very thoroughly. It is unacceptable for us, when taking a decision, to look round foolishly at an overseas "uncle" to see how he does things and what he has, without taking account of our own potential and traditions. After all, the present structure did not just arise from nowhere, but was worked out on the basis of analysis and study of specific circumstances.

[Ivanov] Do you think that the Air Defense Forces can be made fully professional?

[Prudnikov] Our aviation and our antiaircraft missile and radiotechnical units are staffed by professionals in many areas even as it is. This indicator is significantly lower in auxiliary and service units. My standpoint on this question is like this: There should be a mixed method of manpower acquisition. Here is why. There are a number of duties that do not require complex special training, but are nonetheless essential. Somebody has to look after combat training support and the life and daily routines of the troops. To maintain professionals in these posts is unsuitable and extravagant.

[Ivanov] You have entered into the post of commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces with a definite program of action. You have touched on some of the aspects of this program above...

[Prudnikov] The main thing is that the troops under my command should not lose the level of preparation they have achieved during the forthcoming process of reform and contraction. To ensure this, I think that we will have to relinquish directives that were adopted earlier. For example, it is necessary to review the concept of using the antiaircraft missile troops as a branch of the Air Defense Forces in the organization of zonal groups. Just look at the map—the length of the border is immense. Now judge how many weapons, how much equipment, and how many people are needed to create a radar field all the way along the border with the necessary parameters to ensure antiaircraft missile cover. In our view it would be more expedient to direct our main efforts toward the guaranteed cover of facilities that are of vital importance to the country, its economy, and defense. With this aim in view, obviously, the air defense groupings will be adjusted.

And one more important trend. I am talking about approaches to evaluating breaches of the state borders. Not so long ago the "open skies" concept was mooted in our country. But for some reason we are in o special hurry to make this a reality. I think that we should return to this concept.

If the air border is breached by combat aircraft able to carry powerful weapons, including nuclear weapons, it is essential to pull out all the stops, as the saying goes, and do everything possible to intercept the flight of the intruder. Low-altitude, low-velocity lightplanes, breaches of the border by which do not present a military threat, are another matter. But operating on the assumption of such a threat, it is necessary to activate the detection devices, put the antiaircraft missiles on combat alert, and put fighter planes into the air. The amount of forces and resources expended is disproportionate to the damage inflicted by the intruder, which is mainly psychological.

[Ivanov] But will not such a formulation of the question lead to the monitoring of air space being reduced, and new Rusts appearing?

[Prudnikov] No one will be able to fly unpunished. We are bringing in aircraft to stop flights by planes of this type. Moreover, not just our aircraft, but also those of other departments. We are relying on helicopters. I am not opposed to adopting serious measures in these situations too, but they should be thought out and thoroughly checked.

[Ivanov] Officers, warrant officers, and their families work and live in difficult conditions. Cut off from cultural centers, often without apartments or conveniences, they solve complex combat tasks in the middle of nowhere. How can the situation be changed for the better?

[Ivanov] The serviceman and his family with all their problems and difficulties are our main concern. And here it is necessary to begin with housing and living conditions. I hope that we will resolve this problem in the troops within the next two or three years. The same goes for social, cultural, and consumer amenities. The Air Defense Forces like no other branch of the Armed Forces are deployed throughout the territory of the country in small garrisons. Additional resources, and decent ones at that, are required in order to provide them with facilities and supply them with all necessities. And these funds will be found, as far as I can tell. Whereas formerly we spent, say, 60 percent of the budget on buying weapons, combat training, providing our posts with ancillary services, and 40 percent went on building housing and resolving social and other problems, now this ratio will change in favor of the social programs.

Officers, warrant officers, and their families, and servicemen on compulsory service should feel an improvement in the fact that they have not been left to the mercy of fate in these difficult times. Specific instances of this concern are the recent decisions of the State Council, and Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's order on strengthening the social protection of servicemen performing their service on the territory of the republic. As far as I know, the appropriate work is being performed in this direction in several of the other republics as well.

[Ivanov] It is not long since the day you took up the post of commander in chief. What was done in the initial days, what documents were issued?

[Prudnikov] The first order was to the effect that I had assumed my duties. The second was about the removal from their posts of members of the Air Defense Forces Military Council who adopted the appeal in support of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. But in general I am trying in the early stages to issue as few directives and orders as possible. I am not a supporter of quick-fire decisions and conclusions. I believe that it necessary to study everything first, and only then decide.

[Ivanov] And, lastly. Could you say a little about yourself and your family?

[Prudnikov] I was born in Rostov-na-Donu. There were nine children in the family. Life was hard. I lost my mother at an early age. At the age of 14 I entered an Air Forces special school. At 17 I became a student at a military school for pilots. Since then I have spent 38 years in the Army. I passed through many command posts. I have served on the Western border, in the Far East, and Siberia. I received the rank of lieutenant colonel and that of colonel before time. In my free time I go swimming and play tennis. I go with my wife to the theater as and when I can.

I have tried to bring my two sons up as honest, industrious, and decent people. The elder one wanted to inherit my profession and joined a civil aviation flying school. But alas, his health let him down. And we suffered the untimely loss of the younger one a few days ago. That is the way life is: Often it leaves you grievous wounds to the heart that do not heal. But there is the profession which you devote yourself to entirely, there is the soldier's duty, and responsibility to the state and the people, and there is an inner need to serve the Fatherland. That is how I live.

Transbaykal Military District Situation Reported

PM2309085191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 91 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "As Whom To Serve Tomorrow"]

[Text] During the state coup the personnel of the Transbaykal Military District did not sully themselves by supporting the self-styled State Committee for the State of Emergency—that is the conclusion reached by the extraordinary session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies which examined the activity of the leadership and officials of Chita Oblast during the putsch. The district command introduced a whole series of restrictions with a view to preventing the situation from becoming heated and giving no grounds for rumors or anxiety among citizens. The personnel were not issued weapons and ammunition and units and subunits were not introduced to the population centers of the Transbaykal.

This stance and actions on the party of the military were approved at meetings and in the mass media. No instances of any kind of discrimination against servicemen or of a negative attitude toward them were noted. Neither during the coup nor after, said Lieutenant General V. Tretyakov, the district's new commander, did relations with the local authorities deteriorate and they remain businesslike and constructive. Moreover, recently it has even become easier to resolve some questions of the troops' supply with food (and there have been arguments here). In particular with meat, potatoes, and vegetables. In turn the district has come to the aid of the Transbaykal people in bringing in the harvest. Aid continues to be rendered to the flood-afflicted rayons of Buryatia and Chita Oblast—roads are being restored and bridges are being constructed.

In the past two weeks there have been virtually no deliberately negative items published about the army in the mass media nor have any actions been noted against the military by public organizations, including attempts by representatives of the Democratic Party of Russia to launch a campaign to recall RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies Lieutenant General A. Rymorov and Major General V. Yevstratov.

The political workers are now anxious about their future fate. This anxiety was heard at the session of the district military council.

As of 1 September 1,923 political workers were serving and of these 1,466 have served for less than 20 years. Only 284 political workers have graduated from command, engineering and technical, and rear services colleges and academies. And here are the figures for full-time party workers. In all there are 107 of them in the district. Only 24 have served for 25 years. And of those only three have housing in other regions of the country. These figures attest that the processes of depoliticization and departyization directly affect a large proportion of the district servicemen and, naturally, people are upset. Some, without waiting for their fate to be decided, have already handed in their resignation, others have set about seeking staff, command, and rear services posts. Former party workers and political workers have a mass of questions about the forthcoming recertification and its criteria, the deployment of cadres, and the structure and future functions of the new educational organs.

Proposals on the structure and staff of the future organs of combat training and military and moral-psychological education have been sent from the district to the USSR Defense Ministry. The following proposal merits attention: the proposal to introduce the full-time post of chairman of the officers assembly in the military formations of the "regiment-district" rank. Nonetheless the combat training, service, and life of the district troops are continuing. In the opinion of Lieutenant General V. Tretyakov, as a whole the combat training plans will be fulfilled, although it will be necessary to make every effort for that.

Baltic Affairs

Ministers Announce Customs Union To Be Set Up

OW2409190791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On September 24, the prime ministers of the Baltic republics, who had a meeting within the framework of the Baltic Council Conference, announced that a customs union of the three republics would be set up.

Estonian Prime Minister, Edgar Savisaar, said at a press conference folloing the Council Conference that the measure was a must for joining integrated Europe, for the liberalization of trade exchanges and for a free circulation of capital.

Mr. Savisaar said that the Baltic republics would sign a corresponding agreement at the end of 1991.

After the agreement is signed, the customs border of the three republics will run along their western and eastern frontiers, but not between the republics themselves.

The private individuals and juridical entities of the customs union's member-states will enjoy equal rights to entrepreneurship, to duty-free trade and to movement without visas.

The Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian premiers also made a special statement on joint investment. Priority was given to six major programmes for the development of telecommunications (the chief role will be played by Latvia), for laying a highway from Tallinn to the Lithuanian-Polish border (Estonia), for promoting agricultural machine building (Lithuania), for drafting a concept for oil supplies (Estonia and Lithuania), for drafting a concept for the development of power engineering (Estonia) and for sugar production (Estonia and Latvia).

Within the next few weeks, a working group will evaluate the cost of these projects in roubles and in hard currency, and set the deadline for their implementation.

A corresponding agreement is expected to be signed a month later.

The premiers also proposed that the Council of Ministers of the Northern States set up a Baltic investment bank involving the capital of northern and Baltic states.

On Tuesday, in the afternoon, the talks will be continued.

Nations Reach Agreement With European Aid Bank

OW2409222791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Each of the Baltic states will own 1,000 shares of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] (one share worth 10,000 ECU) or 0.1 percent of the EBRD's capital base. This agreement was reached at a meeting in Tallinn September 24 between Jacque Attali, president of the EBRD, and the Baltics' Prime Ministers Edgar Savisaar (Estonia), Ivars Godmanis (Latvia) and Gediminas Vagnorius (Lithuania).

At a news conference after the meeting Mr. Savisaar expressed hope that preparations for admitting the Baltics to the EBRD would be completed within a month and a half.

The EBRD was set up in April of this year by more than 30 European countries, as well as the USA and Japan, with the original capital 10 billion ECU. Among the major shareholders of the Bank are the USA (lO percent), France, Great Britain, Italy, Germany, Japan (8.5 percent each) and the USSR (6 percent). The EBRD is engaged in channeling Western capital to the countries of Eastern and central Europe.

A group of the EBRD's experts visited the Baltics in August and another group is expected to arrive soon. In the words of Mr. Attali, the experts will thoroughly explore the economic situation in the Baltics, as well as respect for human rights which is very important for taking decision on granting credits to the Baltics.

Estonia

Muellerson Views Russian, Soviet Relations

AU2209072891 Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Sep 91 p 5

[Interview with Estonian Deputy Foreign Minister Rein Muellerson by RIA-NOVOSTI reporter Sergey Bykovskikh on behalf of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND; place and date not given: "Territorial Problems Can Be Solved in Negotiations"]

[Text] [Bykovskikh] Mr. Muellerson, you have an office in Estonia's Permanent Representation in Moscow. When will the representation become an embassy?

[Muellerson] That is a matter of several days. Talks on the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and Russia are under way. All three sides agree that there must be such relations.

[Bykovskikh] Will Estonia use the services of diplomatic missions of the USSR or other Baltic republics in countries where it will not set up embassies?

[Muellerson] Such variants are out of the question. For the time being, we will have to set up—and can afford—about 10 embassies. Every embassy will not only cover just one country, but an entire region. For instance, our embassy in Brussels will represent our interests in the Benelux countries and the EC.

[Bykovskikh] Which international organizations do you plan to join?

[Muellerson] Primarily the United Nations because that will open the doors for us to other organizations and will allow us to accede to many international agreements. We have are also interested in financial and economic associations such as the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development....

[Bykovskikh] Some experts believe that following the withdrawal of the Soviet Army, the Baltic states will seek membership in the Western European security system, specifically NATO.

[Muellerson] NATO membership is out of the question for us. We do not want to become a member, nor does the North Atlantic Alliance want us to become a member because that would upset the balance of forces in Europe. However, Estonia has an interest in joining the pan-European security system where there is also room for Russia, the Ukraine, and the confederation that might be created to replace the present Soviet Union.

[Bykovskikh] Are inhabitants of Russia and other republics permitted to visit Estonia as freely as they did before, or will they require an entry visa?

[Muellerson] We are working at the mechanism for such travels. However, I do not think there will be any restrictions regarding the entry of citizens of the present Soviet Union to Estonia. Of course, passport controls will be necessary and possibly also customs controls; customs controls will be definitely necessary for shipments of foodstuffs and other goods.

[Bykovskikh] What are you doing if citizens of other republics of the present USSR seek political asylum in Estonia as a sovereign state?

[Muellerson] Basically, we cannot rule that out; however, so far, there are no laws in this respect. In the present situation, economic refugees rather than political refugees would probably come to us. They will probably not go from one former Soviet republic to the next, they will probably go to the West.

[Bykovskikh] How will the problems of Russian and Soviet property in Estonia be resolved?

[Muellerson] That is one of the basic problems in our negotiations. I can say this much: If the property law is confirmed, no one will dispute it. That holds true for the former Russian Embassy in Tallinn, which was bought in 1920.

[Bykovskikh] How do you view the political and economic relations between Estonia and Russia? Could they become members of a confederation?

[Muellerson] Unlike Russia, Estonia does not intend to enter into confederative relations with other republics. However, that does not rule out close economic relations. An economic community may be created eventually, of which Russia and Estonia may become members. Confederative structures require above all political and military cooperation or even unity to solve such problems. Such a thing does not even exist in the Baltic Council of which Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are members.

[Bykovskikh] The Estonian Supreme Council Presidium recently put the act of the republic authorities out of force that confirmed the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 1945 on the change of the Estonian territory. Many people have considered this a territorial claim toward Russia....

[Muellerson] In my view, territorial claims are inadmissible. I think that territorial problems—if there are any—can only be resolved by negotiations, as is also laid down in the Helsinki accords. Undoubtedly, the act by which part of the Estonian territory was handed to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in 1945 and was annexed to the Leningrad and Pskov regions was illegal. It was an expression of the center's arbitrariness and diktat toward the republics. I do not know how the problem will ultimately be resolved; however, it must be done in a way guaranteeing that the good-neighborly relations between Russia and Estonia will not be troubled.

Savisaar Views Trade Agreement With Kyrgyzstan

OW2309125891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1000 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia and Kyrghyzstan signed a trade agreement for 1992 in Bishkek Sunday.

Speaking at the signing ceremony Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar said that Estonia attributes great importance to bilateral relations with Kyrghyzstan. He noted that "the democratic process in Kyrghyzstan has considerably moved forward."

Mr. Savisaar pointed out that, unlike other republics of Central Asia, Kyrghyzstan is going its own way." "And this particular fact is favorable to closer contacts between Estonia and Kyrghyzstan," he said.

Mr. Savisaar also emphasized the need to draft a document on broader economic cooperation with Kyrghyzstan which, in his opinion, can offer a lot of opportunities." In particular, Estonia is interested in setting up joint ventures in the extractive, agricultural processing and light industries.

Russian Attitude on Estonian Citizenship Polled

LD2509044991 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 24 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn September 24 TASS—47 per cent of residents of Estonia's northeast, inhabited predominantly by Russian-speaking people would like to receive

Estonian citizenship when the appropriate law comes into effect. They support Estonia's independence, but many are disconcerted by the required command of the Estonian language. Only 16 per cent of residents of the region speak Estonian. Such are the results of a poll conducted by the Estonian centre of public opinion survey and market problems, commissioned by the Estonian Supreme Council.

Sociological data must help parliamentarians in working out the version of the law on citizenship that will be acceptable to both Estonians and Russians living in Estonia.

Legislators are in a difficult situation since political groups that hold extreme attitudes preclude the possibility of a compromise and threaten with a civil war unless their demands are met.

It becomes more obvious that the demand of national radicals to restore the 1938 law on citizenship is unrealistic. 40 per cent of Estonia's population who are nonnative speakers are against the restoration of the 1938 law, and it would also contradict the logic of social development of recent decades.

Deputy of the Supreme Council Rein Veidemann said the question of citizenship is no longer an Estonian domestic problem.

Seeking its solution, it is necessary to proceed from the international situation and to take into account how much Estonian independence was assisted by Russian democrats. "Unless the attitude to the Russian-speaking population is changed, it will soon turn into an extremist opposition to the Estonian authorities," Veidemann said.

Latvia

Jundzis Cited on 'Problems' of Taking Over KGB

LD2109182891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Excerpts] We go over now to the press center of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia. Valdis Ivanovs talks about the news from parliament:

[Ivanovs] Good day! Today, in order to learn about the work of the commission, I met with Talavs Jundzis, chairman of the Commission for Defense and Internal Affairs.

[Begin Jundzis recording] [passage omitted] Members of the commission are working each with their own range of questions because at the present time there are an extraordinary number of questions facing our commission, and they are questions of a practical nature.

Specifically, my deputy Peteris Simsons is engaged in the questions, it could be said, of taking over the State Security Committee, because the complaints which have appeared in the press have also been heard on the radio, that the State Security Committee is still continuing to work—these are valid complaints. We must do everything, and I fully agree that we have not done everything in order to solve this question more quickly.

Well, of course, it has become acceptable to refer to objective circumstances. For example, the same communications objects valued at hundreds of millions of rubles which have been at the disposal of the State Security Committee—well, you cannot take these over in one day. There is stocktaking, taking into account the technical facilities with which, let us say, we have never even seen at our Ministry of Communications. This, of course demands, certain work but this work must be speeded up. And all day long today Peteris Simsons has been travelling around these State Security Committee's establishments in order to solve this question more quickly.

In turn, the responsible secretary of the commission, Deputy Mihails Stepicevs, was in Moscow yesterday and today because in Moscow the questions connected with the withdrawal of the USSR troops from Latvia, with the place of Latvia, of future independent Latvia in the collective security systems, are being tackled. In this connection, he is meeting with specialists on military questions, specifically also at the Russian parliament.

So, you see, this information is being collected and also he [Stepicevs], let us say, tackles the questions which are extremely important to Latvia today. [end recording]

Jurkans Interviewed on Independence, Democracy

PM2509100391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 91 p 5

[Interview with Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans by correspondent K. Markaryan in Riga; date not given; first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction: "Janis Jurkans: 'We Need Not Only Independence But Also Democracy...'"]

[Text] From KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's file: Janis Jurkans is a Pole, 45 years old. In 1974 he graduated from the University of Latvia in the subject "English Language and Literature." During the "stagnation" era he worked in his specialty for just two years and "led the life of a dissident" for almost 10 years—he was a house painter, a motor mechanic, and a seaman on a rescue station. This was the case until 1989, when he began working as senior consultant and then as cochairman of the Latvian People's Front Foreign Relations Committee. Jurkans received his ministerial post after the Latvian People's Front won last year's elections to the republic parliament.

[Markaryan] Mr. Jurkans, what has already been done for Latvia's entry into the international community?

[Jurkans] On 10 September Latvia, like Lithuania and Estonia, was admitted to the Council on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Baltic flags have been flying in front of the United Nations since 18 September. Very active support has been given in this by Germany, which

is even now helping us to secure associate status in the EEC. For us the EEC is the main economic structure with whose help we could set our economy on its feet.

True, on meeting with the 12 ministers of the EEC member countries, the Baltic foreign ministers did not find among them a unanimous opinion on granting such status. But no matter. Neither Poland nor Hungary nor Czecho-Slovakia is yet a member of the EEC. So everything lies ahead. For the EEC already wishes to conclude a trade and cooperation treaty with the Baltic countries. This is not bad to start with, since we ourselves do not yet have an entirely correct idea of what associate status is, what this will mean in the purely economic sphere, or what commitments it will require.

[Markaryan] The training of international specialists, diplomats, and ambassadors—all this will have to be tackled right now. For it will be necessary in the very near future to establish diplomatic relations and open embassies. Where will they be located, and what will happen, for example, to Latvia's former property in France?

[Jurkans] The chief thing today is to open an embassy in London (we already have one in the United States), in Paris, and in Bonn or Berlin (it has not yet been decided). It is very important to have an embassy in Brussels, in one of the Scandinavian states, and, probably, in Warsaw. If we are rich—in Vienna. This depends on our technical and material potential.

As you know, we have property abroad—buildings in Finland, Sweden, and Paris. An investigation is presently being conducted in France into the legal status of our premises, which are now occupied by the Soviet Consulate, and in Sweden too. I hope that these are matters of time and that they will be resolved.

[Markaryan] France is known to have recently expressed readiness to hand over gold that belonged to Latvia (2.2 tonnes). Britain too appears to be not averse to this, although Khrushchev did manage to sell some of it....

[Jurkans] No, it was Harold Wilson, the British premier. The British had property insured here, and Khrushchev had said: "Take the Baltic gold." And the British took it. It is a question of 6-7 millions [currency not specified], but I do not know exactly. Specialists are now working to establish these details.

[Markaryan] As can be seen, the gold still has to be gone into. But what about the West's promised economic aid?

[Jurkans] It is too soon to speak of the size of this. We can only speak of the Western states' readiness to help us. The visits by Genscher and Baker are an expression of not only moral and political support. Specialists are coming to Latvia together with them (and without them) to study our problems. The government which I represent has no intention of traveling the world with an outstretched hand. The chief thing is that we should be helped to create structures which will then become a means of restoring the economy.

[Markaryan] It would be interesting to know what you are asked about most frequently during your foreign news conferences.

[Jurkans] These questions are heard more frequently: "Fifty percent of your population is non-Lettish. What rights do you guarantee them?" and "How stable is the democratization process in the Baltic region?"

[Markaryan] Indeed, one cannot fail to be disconcerted by a recent statement by the chairman of the Movement for Latvia's National Independence, who said literally the following in respect of the republic's nonindigenous population: "You are not second-class citizens, you are nobody."

[Jurkans] I believe that both the government and the parliament must understand that, unless we are able to build a democratic society and guarantee equal rights for all national minorities, then we will never achieve what we desire. The machine will not pull. There will be nothing but tension, backwardness, and the status of a third-rate state. If we do not realize the right of the minority to equal rights, we will not be understood in the West.

Law on State Service Comes Into Effect 1 Oct

LD2109181291 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0430 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] From 1 October the law on state service comes into force in Latvia. For young men of call-up age it envisages two possibilities. First, to serve in militarized formations; and second, in the labor service. In accordance with the Supreme Council's resolution of 10 September, which lays down the procedure of the law on state service coming into force, those young men who are at present already undergoing labor service will continue to do so in conformity with the new law.

During the initial stage, quite simply, it will not be possible to make use of such a large number of young men in militarized formations. Therefore those who are in the labor service will, for the most part, continue to undergo it, explained Talavs Jundzis, chairman of the Supreme Council's Commission for Defense and Internal Affairs.

However, the new law envisages two essential changes concerning young men in the labor service. First, the service period is reduced by a year, from three years to two. Thereby the boys who will have served two years by the spring will end their labor service. In turn, the amount of wages will diminish, because wages will be paid to the extent of the subsistence minimum laid down by the government, that is, 190 rubles a month. The remaining money over this amount, which those called up into the service will earn, will not be paid. This remainder will be transferred to the state budget and it will be spent on consolidation of the state defense capabilities and also on other needs.

France To Return Property Within Six Months

OW2309140891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1300 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Michele Pelchois, president of the group supporting the Baltics in the French National Assembly, who is now visiting Riga, told Latvian reporters that the property lost by Latvia in France (mainly, real estate—BALTFAX) as a result of the Soviet annexation in 1940 will be returned to Latvia within the next six months.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Calls For Soviet Troops Withdrawal

LD2509042991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] We have achieved a lot and this is the basis for new immense tasks. What we have achieved is not all yet, said Chairman of Lithuania's Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis in yesterday's [22 September] address on Lithuanian TV.

He referred to the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lithuania as the main political task at present. The Soviet troops in Lithuania are believed to be 80,000 strong, a lot more than in Latvia and Estonia.

According to Vytautas Landsbergis, the Baltic countries will receive support from the international community in achieving a rapid withdrawal of Soviet troops. He said that 1994, named by the Kremlin at present as the term for pulling out Soviet troops, was absolutely unacceptable to Lithuania.

Vytautas Landsbergis also commented upon the problems linked with the disbandment of the KGB in Lithuania. On Saturday the Lithuanian parliament head received high-ranking KGB officials from Moscow who promised that the KGB would not use its former workers or involve Lithuania's residents in activity directed against the Lithuanian state. Let us hope that this will be so, Vytautas Landbergis said.

He had told the KGB officials bluntly that Lithuania ought to be returned to the KGB archive, including the list of its agents, and that was a confidence test. To publish or not those lists is to be decided by our state and we're not interested in raising a big scandal, Vytautas Landsbergis said.

Landsbergis: 'Change' in USSR 'Not Over Yet'

OW2409191191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1600 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, Mr. Vytautas Landsbergis, said that membership of the UN gave Lithuania definite protection from "aggressive armed actions," but added that "it must not forget itself." On September 24, at the session of the Lithuanian parliament, he spoke about the situation in the USSR.

In his opinion, "change" in the USSR is not over yet, because the new democratic structures have not yet consolidated their positions. He also said that the conservative forces who had created a system of reprisals and established their political monopoly over the past 70 years, were still hoping to return to power, even by force.

Mr. Landsbergis, for the first time over the past few months, did not criticize the opposition. On the contrary, he urged the Lithuanian political forces to put an end to internal rivalry and pass over to constructive work.

Chairman Brazauskas Holds Rome News Conference

LD2109035391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Polunin]

[Text] Rome, 19 Sep (TASS)—According to Algirdas Brazauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party and former first secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, democracy in Lithuania is facing great difficulties, and the methods of combating opposition go against democratic principles.

Brazauskas held a news conference in Rome, where he is staying at the invitation of the Democratic Party of the Left. He stressed that his party is the leading opposition party in Lithuania. It received 42 percent of the votes at the latest elections. He said that "democratic principles are not yet operating" in Lithuania. Brazauskas also said that there is no accord within the present Lithuanian Government on issues of foreign policy. Open relations with the West are needed. At the same time, one should not forget the close economic ties which have existed between Lithuania and the USSR for the last 50 years.

Brazauskas had a meeting with Achille Occhetto, national secretary of the Democratic Party of the Left. They agreed at the meeting that a delegation from the Democratic Party of the Left will come to Lithuania in November. The leaders of the both parties signed a document envisaging the development of cooperation between the two parties and a regular exchange of delegations.

KGB To Be Disbanded 'As Soon As Possible'

LD2209081191 Berlin ADN in German 0637 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Vilnius (ADN)—The Soviet secret service KGB will disband its organization in Lithuania "as soon as possible." Deputy Chief of the KGB Nikolay Stolyarov assured Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis on this in Vilnius yesterday. There were also no different opinions in the committee [KGB] and the Lithuanian leadership

regarding the future protection of the state borders, the transfer of property, arms and other equipment of the KGB, Stolyarov told ADN. However, the KGB has refused to reveal its network of agents in Lithuania. "As the KGB itself is currently undergoing far-reaching restructuring and one does not know what will become of the committee, it is simply too early to talk about our staff in Lithuania," Stolyarov said. He added that the members of the secret service remaining in Lithuania would not damage the interests of the Baltic state.

KGB Discusses Transfer of Border Guard Duties

OW2409222691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Lithuanian Home Defense Department, Lithuania will be able to form its own border protections service not earlier than in the spring of the next year taking into account the shortage of people willing to serve there. In this connection, at a meeting last Saturday Chairman of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis, USSR KGB Deputy Chairman N. Stolyarov and head of the commission on liquidation of the KGB in Lithuania Major-General S. Orlov (Lithuanian border troops are still under the control of the USSR KGB) agreed to transfer the Lithuanian borders under the control of he republic in the spring of the next year.

The possible transfer of the border troops' arms and equipment to Lithuania will be discussed at interstate talks between the USSR and Lithuania.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Leaves Moscow for Vacation 25 Sep

LD2509061191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0554 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 25 Sep (TASS)—Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, left Moscow today to take his vacation. This was reported by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president's Information Department.

Supreme Soviet Discusses POW's in Afghanistan

OW2009200691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [20 September], the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan and adjacent countries. The document reads:

"Following the stoppage of arms supplies from the USSR to Afghanistan, the RSFSR Foreign Ministry is instructed, with assistance from the USSR Foreign Ministry, to resume in Afghanistan and Pakistan the organization of negotiations on the release of Soviet POW's. The ministry is expected, without delay, to conclude with the Afghan mojahedeen (armed opposition—IF [INTERFAX]) and other foreign representatives an agreement on the release of all Soviet prisoners of war."

Later in the day the Supreme Soviet turned down in the first reading the bill on the election of heads of local administrations as a document unapproved by the Council of Nationalities.

Deputy Medvedev on Problems Facing Parliament

OW2109005491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1852 GMT 20 Sep 91

[From the "Nation and Society" feature: "Russian Supreme Soviet Deputy Anatoliy Medvedev on the Problems and Tasks Facing the Soviet Parliament"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Our correspondent Marina Chernukha spoke with Anatoliy Medvedev on the final day of the Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies at which the USSR Supreme Soviet announced it was being voluntarily disbanded. This was the starting point for the interview.

[Medvedev] The lessons of the Extraordinary Congress provide plenty of food for thought. We all believe the Union ought to be reformed, but today it is being reformed very quickly indeed, to put it mildly. What we actually have on our hands is the collapse of the Union. This calls for a serious attitude to our Russian parliament and government bodies. I think the current composition of the Russian Supreme Soviet leaves room for improvement. But at the same time we have to prevent it from being smashed to pieces, because that would mean the collapse of Russia. I'm not saying this out of nationalistic or chauvinist sentiments. Territorial integrity has to be maintained so the people can live normally, so the economy functions as it ought to, so as to guarantee peace of mind. We need one Russia, anything else is fraught with the threat of Russian fascism. There are already signs of this, and with the disintegration of Russia the threat would become more concrete.

[Chernukha] Are you thinking of people like Zhirinovskiy?

[Medvedev] When I set about analysing the prospects of a putsch, I thought of the Makashov-Zhirinovskiy scenario. But they weren't the ones who staged it, thank God. They would have found a more insidious way of doing it.

[Chernukha] Do you think such a scenario is still possible?

[Medvedev] Yes, and that's why I'm worried about the present state of affairs here. We need to strengthen our Russian parliament and government institutions. It seems to me that the current collapse of the Union is the natural result of the power vacuum. But while you can find a certain historical Justification as far as the former Union republics are concerned, disintegration would be tantamount to a catastrophe for Russia. That's why we need stronger government—this is the single most crucial issue, and we should start with the Supreme Soviet. During the contest for the post of Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman I backed Ruslan Khasbulatov, but today the situation has changed. I think Khasbulatov's opponents were right in many ways.

[Chernukha] What do you mean?

[Medvedev] Khasbulatov's opponents believed it was dangerous to increase the power of the president without having a counterbalance in the form of legislative power. They were thinking of Khasbulatov's personal qualities.

[Chernukha] What you mean to say is he carries out Yeltsin's policies and ignores the views of the body of deputies?

[Mededev] Absolutely. There's no doubting that he's one of Yeltsin's men, though another quality is needed in his position—a counterbalance. It is a historical necessity to have leaders. And we have a leader in Yeltsin. However, a state needs not only leaders but also a strong political system as a guarantee of democratic transformations. This guarantee of democratic reforms should be provided by other legislative bodies. But they have been absent so far. Today we are witnessing mistakes in the work of the presidency as an institution. Only the Supreme Soviet would be in a position to help the Russian President in his efforts to rectify them. But it is still weak. In my opinion a strong legislature is the only guarantee of democratic development.

[Chernukha] Do you think that the Russian Supreme Soviet is not in a position to act as a counterbalance to Yeltsin?

[Medvedev] I wouldn't say that. Not Yeltsin, but it can't counterbalance the presidential system.

[Chernukha] Why not?

[Medvedev] The Supreme Soviet is weak right from the start in the sense that it is not sufficiently competent. This could be rectified by employing a rotation system. Members of parliament should include, first and foremost, lawyers and economists, people who are able to formulate their thoughts clearly and are familiar with Soviet legislation. At the moment this is far from the case. Let's take the land code, for example. It includes provisions included at the initiative of Sergey Shakhray and making it impossible for a farmer to be deprived of his land at will. But the final paragraph says that part of a plot may be taken away to provide for the needs of society or the state. This just underlines all that I said previously. We are clearly up against legal illiteracy. And that is not the only example.

[Chernukha] Glasnost, the newspaper of that name, called you an anticommunist. What do you think about it?

[Medvedev] I think the prefix "anti" is not very helpful. I am against stupidity and in favour of competence and democracy.

[Chernukha] Are there many in the Russian parliament today who regard themselves as communists?

[Medvedev] Quite a few judging by the debates at the Russian Congress. But for all the political differences I think we ought not to get into conflicts with them today. This would carry with it the great danger of Russia collapsing. I don't expect to see any repeat of the wars of words which formed the basis of the previous congress. There are hopeful signs that the communists have formed a greater attachment to commonsense and democracy and we will manage to make progress. We shall try to find common ground and not shatter the institutions of state but to reform them. We have prepared proposals for a reform of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet alike. The time has come to put them into practice.

[Chernukha] If I have understood you correctly, you believe that the Supreme Soviet in its present composition should pursue a policy aimed at preserving the territorial integrity of Russia?

[Medvedev] Exactly, using the means we have at our disposal. There will be political debates, of course, but they must not be allowed to have a detrimental effect on the matter at hand. I have talked to numerous deputies and am convinced that this is the view shared by the majority.

[Chernukha] Who do you expect to se as the main challenger to Ruslan Khasbulatov at the forthcoming elections for the post of chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet?

[Medvedev] I wouldn't like to make any forecasts now. Maybe Baburin. But Baburin is what we don't need at the moment—we don't need communist ideas. Many of the communists who voted for him said he was a kind of symbolic figure for them. I have to say that I don't like him. There has also been talk of Shakhray standing as a candidate. He impresses me a lot, although Shakhray has his drawbacks as well. But I am sure he wouldn't blindly endorse presidential decrees if they were at odds with democratic standards.

Silayev Issues Statement on Economic Committee

PM2009112591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by V. Romanyuk: "'Provisional Government' Hands Over Powers"]

[Text] On 18 September 1991 I. Silayev issued a brief statement on the State Council session held the previous day.

The question of the new appointment of I. Silayev, who has accepted the offer to head the Interrepublican Economic Committee, has generated understandable interest among the committee's members.

In agreeing to the new appointment I. Silayev asked to be provided with information on the structure and functions of the new organ. To judge by Article 5 of the law adopted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies on the new structures of power, the new organ of power in terms of its influence and potential is noticeably inferior to the present committee. Amendments will have to be made during the actual process of the elaboration of the structure, functions, and personnel of the Interrepublican Economic Committee. I. Silayev stated that he conceives of the activity of the new committee as an executive organ of the State Council: All republics should be represented in it on the basis of the principles of parity and once a month this should be at the level of the first leaders of the governments. The organ's functions and status will be finally determined after the signing of the Treaty on Economic Union.

The main thing, I. Silayev stressed, is not to start to resemble the old ministerial structures, not to become the centralized structure against which the republics have struggled so much. "I should like the republics to reproach us for just one thing: that we are pushing them too rapidly toward the market," I. Silayev concluded.

At least three scientific organizations have received assignments to elaborate the future structure of the Interrepublican Economic Committee. They have to answer quite complex questions. For instance, if ministries are not necessary at Union level, what can take their place? Of

course it is possible to destroy the USSR Ministry of Finance, but a coordinating minister is nonetheless needed in the budget field. The blatantly monopolist structure of the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] must also find an equivalent—in the form of a council of banks or other association. Ultimately the preliminary working out of this question was transferred to the republics.

The committee members voiced proposals for the elaboration both of the structure as a whole and for individual blocs—the fuel and energy complex, the agro-industrial complex, and others. But with all the opinions the same approach is envisaged: ensuring that the republics' rights are not infringed and the working organs of the new committee are created only in those links which really require coordination. In brief, not a shadow of the old structures should remain!

I. Silayev touched on several results of the State Council session. Regarding Yu. Luzhkov's report on the food problem he expressed himself as follows: The speaker was obviously concerned with how to obtain as much as possible from the republics instead of acquiring a deep understanding of the interests of the republics themselves.

In I. Silayev's opinion, the discussion of G. Yavlinskiy's report proceeded very calmly and even the unexpected sharpness introduced to the discussion by A. Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan, did not alter the overall tone of the talk. A notable episode in the discussion in the State Council was the vigorous speech delivered by Kazakhstan President N. Nazarbayev, who called for the immediate conclusion of an economic agreement. Since the events of 19-21 August 1991 an opportunity has opened up for the rapid advancement of reforms and for receiving credits and it would be unforgivable to betray the trust of our Western partners.

I. Silayev also touched on other questions examined by the State Council. Let us not some curious facts. There was a discussion of the question of raising wages in subdivisions of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. Since this raise is planned within the framework of the same wages fund—with a reduction in the numerical strength of the personnel from 500,000 to 300,000—the proposal was accepted. The idea of forming a committee for national education was approved, but on condition that it is a nongovernment structure and does not reproduce a ministerial structure. Incidentally, the committee examined as a separate question the fate of the recently created Union Ministry of Information and the Press. The committee members concluded that it is expedient to abolish it; it did not adopt the option proposed by Minister M. Nenashev for transforming this artificial structure into a kind of commercial fund laying claim, moreover, to certain financial benefits.

The committee examined a number of acute questions, in particular the use of foreign credits. Incidentally, during the debate representatives of the press were asked to leave the auditorium. Then the journalists were asked not to worry and to go for a break during the discussion of one more question—the use of the ready cash which will enter the Union-republican currency fund for the export of goods and services in 1991. It is annoying that this "selective glasnost" so characteristic of the former Cabinet of Ministers is entering the practice of new structures which consider themselves democratic.

S. Sitaryan, leader of a working group of the currency interrepublican committee, delivered a report on the state of foreign credits. In brief, the situation is like this: Dependence on foreign deliveries as a result of the very acute crisis in our economy has increased while currency receipts, without which import deliveries cannot be ensured, have declined. As a result of intergovernment and interbank agreements concluded with over 20 countries we have succeeded in obtaining credits worth a total of 13 billion rubles [R]. It is true that the conversion of the majority of these credits has been delayed as a result of procedures—from agreement in principle to credits to the conclusion of agreements with the governments and their approval by parliaments. All this has delayed delivery schedules, in particular credits in kind.

In principle there would seem to be no serious problems regarding credits in kind. The situation is more complex regarding investment credits. Unfortunately, to this day no agreement has been reached among the republics on quotas for the distribution of this credit. Yet the solution of this question cannot be delayed any further. Two options have been suggested for determining the quota: on the basis of exports or using an aggregate indicator (exports, imports, national income, and numerical strength of population). The second option was adopted. Another question—of a very delicate nature—is the assessment of the possible debt from credits and the distribution of its burden" among the republics. According to estimates, as of the beginning of next year the debt will be R40 billion. Of course, this will burden our currency potential in the long term. But in any case our partners should be sure that the currency debt will be paid.

If we take our future for 1992 then after all debt payments we will be left with R5-8 billion for import purchases, yet requirements are R25-28 billion. The figures are out of proportion! Actually, calculations are based on quite gloomy forecasts, but we will be able to judge our real currency potential only after the republics reveal their currency potentials. They are in no haste to do this, yet debts can be paid only from currency receipts which go to a particular republic.

And so reasons for earning currency are needed. It is also necessary to activate all forms of mutual accounts—barter, the clearing house system, and others—acceptable to the partners. A. Volskiy, president of the Science and Industry Union, who joined in the discussion, stated that blunders in foreign economic activity have brought our economy almost as much harm as the disruption of economic ties.

Silayev Reviews Council of Ministers Meeting

LD2409164991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Interview with Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, by correspondent Valeriy Kiosa and INTERFAX correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov in Moscow: from the "Panorama" program presented by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy—live]

[Text] [Ruvinskiy] We have already reported today that a session of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy of the country opened this afternoon. This committee is headed by Ivan Stepanovich Silayev. Our correspondent Valeriy Kiosa promised to invite Ivan Stepanovich to take part in "Panorama," to invite him to the microphone. So did you manage to do so?

[Kiosa] Yes, we did manage to do so, live on Mayak. Here with me is Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Interrepublican Economic Committee. We invited him to appear live on Mayak, because—I do not know whether you would call it rumor or information—but at any rate, because of the fact that yesterday and today there has been active discussion in the mass media. It is a question of a very complicated discussion which, according to this information, developed yesterday at a session of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation. In order to get the information first hand, rather than from others, we invited Ivan Stepanovich Silayev to answer these questions.

Ivan Stepanovich, did this discussion really take place at the session of the Russian Government, and what was it about in your opinion, please?

[Silayev] Well, in the first place, we should have had a regular session of the Council of Ministers of Russia yesterday. We were due to consider some very important questions, like the program for supporting entrepreneurial structures, (?prepared and worked out very carefully); we were due to consider a number of bills connected to the implementation of our economic program—there were a lot of issues. However, unexpectedly for many members of the government and for myself, too, a document was read out which was not addressed to the Council of Ministers but which was addressed to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the president, a document on behalf of the Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy, which had in mind and which put to him the request that he deem it expedient to suspend a number of legislative acts that were adopted by the Russian leadership during the period of the putsch and the first few days after it, in so far as in the opinion of the committee—and I stress, in the opinion of the committee—there are a number of documents, the provisions of which... [changes thought] in the situation of a transitional period when the new structures have not yet been created, it is essential that they be given an opportunity to work for a short time. However, thse acts, as it were, are illegal.

There was very stormy discussion of the document on the Rutskoy report—I am still thinking about in the committee—and that, too, was published in the press and a decision was taken to appeal to the president. We intended, as they say, to get a special decision. But unexpectedly, this was depicted by a group of members of the government as some kind of illegal action. I take this in the following way, that some of my working colleagues—not all of them, not so many of them, several people in all—confused the concept of chairman of the Committee for the Operational Management of the Economy, which I did not choose to take up but which I was directed to by Yeltsin, Boris Nikolayevich, with the concept of prime minister of Russia. And that, in fact, served as grounds for a local conflict. We discussed issues of relations within the Council of Ministers for practically the whole day, we discussed the problems that exist, naturally in large numbers, but in the end we finished very late, somewhere around 1030.

In the main, a certain agreement was achieved, but a final decision on this question, in the form of a relevant decision of the Council of Ministers, will be made tomorrow afternoon.

[Kiosa] There was a session of the State Council of Russia today. Was this situation that has arisen in the Russian Government discussed at the State Council and, if it was, what can you say about this discussion?

[Silayev] The session had a long agenda. Under consideration are questions concerning the results of the visit by the two presidents, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and Nazarbayev, to Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Nagorno-Karabakh; under consideration was the situation in the country and in Russia, and as part of this, I gave information at the request of the members of the State Council about what you are interested in. In fact I gave an objective report on the situation. And I would not say that this gave rise to a very sharp or acute reaction.

[Kiosa] Whatever happens, the session of the Russian Government will continue tomorrow, as far as I understand it, and some decision will be made there.

I have to say that here with me, taking part in this live broadcast on Mayak, is Vyacheslav Terekhov, a correspondent with the INTERFAX agency. He has a question for Ivan Stepanovich Silayev.

[Terekhov] I have one question, Ivan Stepanovich. A number of deputies in the Supreme Soviet of Russia voiced a demand today that you resign from all posts for, excuse me, having betrayed the interests of Russia. How do you regard these demands and to what extent are they fair?

[Silayev] I am not surprised that some deputies are very swift to take action, particularly in words. Many people are forgetting very quickly where and on which side of

the barricades the Russian Government was during the days of the putsch and that is taking place. But I think that these hot heads will not only regret, but will also be forced to apologize to me for that kind of accusation. I do not accept that kind of accusation of betrayal. I am carrying out the instructions of two presidents, the Russian president and the Union president.

[Kiosa] Well, there you have it, live radio indeed, on the Mayak radio station. I thank Ivan Stepanovich Silayev for answering these questions. I thank him for taking part in our "Panorama," I hope not for the last time as leader of the Interrepublican Economic Committee.

Back over to Aleksandr Ruvinskiy, announcer of "Panorama."

'Urgent Meaures' To Salvage Harvest Announced

PM2009144391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Sep 91 p 2

[Unattributed report on Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Government resolution: "To Save the Harvest"]

[Text] A number of urgent measures to provide the population with food has been adopted by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers.

The leaders of the republics within Russia and kray and oblast soviet executive committees are authorized to enlist the extra manpower and transport they need from any enterprise, organization or educational establishment in order to complete the harvest work. In the same way—that is, regardless of departmental affiliation—construction organizations will be sent to overhaul livestock-raising premises and feed-preparation facilities.

Leaders who have disrupted the harvest work will be held personally responsible. Outstanding workers, however, will be sent a wide range of extra consumer goods for the agricultural products received.

The Russian Government regards as intolerable the fact that grain sales to the state are being held up in a number of places for no real reason. It has been declared that volumes of grain purchases in fulfillment of the state order and the tax in kind, as adjusted in line with the actual harvest, should be seen both as minimum and compulsory.

The leaders of beet-sowing republics and of kray and oblast soviet executive committees are instructed to adopt measures on overhauling and reconstructing sugar refineries. The requisite quantity of material and tehnical facilities—in particular, fuel, limestone, and coke—will be made available for this.

The second part of the document says that as part of the implementation of the 31 August 1991 resolution of the USSR Committee for the Operational Management of the National Economy the leaders of the republics within Russia, of the krays and oblasts, and Yu. Luzhkov, A. Sobchak, and G. Kulik in the cities of Moscow and Leningrad are personally responsible for the population's provision with foodstuffs.

The interim system of deliveries of grain and food to Union-wide consumers must be implemented without fail. Questions of reciprocal settlements will be examined during the elaboration and signing of the economic agreement and approval of the balances for 1992.

The relevant Union ministries and departments are instructed to organize emergency purchases abroad of the requisite volumes of food and reliable transportation.

Officials are authorized to hold immediate talks with foreign banks regarding the possibility of obtaining credits for advance purchases of food. It has also been decided to exempt enterprises and organizations from the tax on export and import transactions until the end of the first half of 1992 when they are purchasing food and essential commodities with their own hard currency or through barter deals.

Ministries and other Union management organs are instructed to submit proposals on deliveries of goods and raw materials for export, with the proceeds from the sale of them going toward food purchases.

Officials are instructed to submit proposals on purchases of vegetable seeds, plant-protection agents, defoliants, and veterinary preparations that are not produced in this country.

Polyethylene sheeting is to be made available for the agro-industrial complex in the quantities required by hothouse units.

Enrollment in National Guard 'Fully Under Way'

OW1909141891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vitaliy Urazhtsev, co-chairman of the association SHCHIT (Shield), told a news conference in Moscow on Wednesday that enrollment in Russia's National Guard was fully under way. He said this did not violate the republic's legislation, since no training of members had yet begun, and no weapons had been distributed. Mr. Urazhtsev said the National Guard, the way SHIELD sees it, should involve some 40,000 professionals, including 2,000-2,500 men making up the presidential guard, and a company to form a guard of honor at the monument to Minin and Pozharsky in Moscow's Red Square. National Guard service, according to Mr. Urazhtsev, would be based on 3, 5 and 7-year contracts. The guard should be equipped with helicopters, armored personnel carriers, and firearms.

Lt.-Col. Vyacheslav Solovyov, in charge of the National Guard formation, says most of the volunteers are active

and reserve Army officers, as well as young men of the draft age who prefer the National Guard to the regular Army.

Local Affairs

Mayor Popov Urges Deputies To Support Reform

LD2109033591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1435 GMT 19 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Sep (TASS)—After today's sitting of the presidium of the Moscow City Council was over, an appeal by Gavriil Popov, mayor of the capital, to people's deputies at city and rayon levels was given to members of permanent commissions. The appearance of this document dated 12 September, according to deputies, was prompted by the mayor's desire to relieve tension following the well-known decree of the president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] "On the authority of bodies of executive power in the city of Moscow."

The appeal says, in particular, that the country is going through a most complex transitional period, to new relations in principle between the former USSR subjects. At the same time political processes outstrip the possibilities for power structures, and because of this the real danger of driving the country into chaos has appeared. Under these conditions the RSFSR president is forced to create temporary transitional structures. In order to ensure efficient interaction between Moscow and new Union and republican authorities, he made an urgent decision to give wide authority to the mayor of Moscow. At present there is little prospect, however, for the sociopolitical system, with all the power concentrated in the hands of executive institutions without restraints or counterbalance, to function long in the interests of the city. According to Gavriil Popov, it will without fail usurp power in its own interests in the end. On the other hand, the clumsiness of democratic institutions is fraught with the even bigger danger of restoring totalitarism, rather than the quick transfer of power into the hands of leaders who enjoy the support of voters.

There is only one possibility for ensuring the preservation of democratic achievements now, the appeal says—the urgent creation of the conditions for switching to market relations. In order to do this, Gavriil Popov thinks, many deputies will have to work on probation abroad, as well as at home.

Besides, in the opinion of the mayor of the capital, "the deputies' corps could give effective help by directly participating in monitoring the nationalization of CPSU property, the division of property in the city, and the work of city services, and by participating in organizing measures to convert the enterprises of the military-industrial complex."

The appeal ends with a call to support the ideas of administrative reform in the capital, and to take part in their implementation.

Mayor Popov Optimistic About Overcoming Problems

LD2109214191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Interview with Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov by correspondent S. Suntsov in the Mayor's Office in Moscow; from the "TV Inform" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Suntsov] We used to complain that our life was too ideologized. Now people are asking whether we are not too politicized. As a result of various debates we may sometimes lose sight of urgent problems affecting our life. How would you assess this situation today?

[Popov] I think one of our main misfortunes and problems lies in the fact that we really have failed to attend to practical questions. We look at things just one way at the moment. Every individual must be told the truth: Everything depends on you; you yourself must set about seeking the solution to your own problems. The authorities cannot feed you. The authorities have a duty to help you with your work. They must remove all obstacles in your path—that is their main function.

My thinking on this is as follows. The difficulties will not be confined to one-third of the population. They will, of course, afflict two-thirds of the population. But I am profoundly convinced that if things are organized properly we will after all be able to overcome most of these difficulties.

Aganbegyan Describes Popov Plans as 'Illegal'

LD2109172391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Text] A scandal has burst out in Moscow around the building of the Academy of the National Economy.

By a decision of the mayor of Moscow, Gavriil Popov, its premises must be handed over to the International University, headed by Mr. Popov himself.

This decision has aroused a strong protest from the professors and students of the academy—the country's largest school of business.

The academy's chancellor, Abel Aganbegyan, described the decision as illegal, and said that if it is not cancelled he will declare a hunger strike on Monday.

Mayor Sobchak Wary of Broken Reform Promises

LD2109112191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 20 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The new Russian revolution has not yet ended, Anatoliy Sobchak has said in an interview to American

journalists. He added that he feared that there would be a counterreaction if the reformers' promises of creating better living conditions for the Soviet people were not realized. Sobchak called this a fatal threat.

Yeltsin Appoints Administrative Leaders in Oblasts

LD2209121891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] TASS reports a decree by Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president, appointing heads of administration in another three oblasts in the republic. They are as follows: in Arkhangelsk Oblast, (Pavel Nikolayevich Balakshin); in Volgograd Oblast, (Ivan Petrovich Shabunin); and in Irkutsk Oblast, (Yuriy Abramovich Nozhikov).

Komissarov Appointed Head of Moscow Militia

PM2309094991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by O. Saprykina: "And Komissarov Sits in Your Rooms"]

[Text] The period of diarchy which used to reign in the Moscow militia ended yesterday at 1520 hours. It was then that Vyacheslav Komissarov, who has been appointed chief of the Moscow Internal Affairs Main Administration, assumed his new job.

I shall recall that back in January this year a session of the Moscow City Soviet made this decision. But a few days ago, at the initiative of Gavriil Popov, Arkadiy Murashev—a 34-year-old USSR people's deputy and one of the leaders of "Democratic Russia," a physicist—was appointed leader of the Internal Affairs Main Administration.

The day before yesterday the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet obliged the Russian president to "ensure the execution of the above-mentioned decision of the Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies." And a few hours later Russian Internal Affairs Minnister Dunayaev issued order number 529 on the appointment of V. Komissarov as chief of the Internal Affairs Main Administration.

Yesterday at V. Komissarov's meeting with the leading staff of the Internal Affairs Main Administration, the general announced his plans. They include altering the structure of the main administration and strengthening the militia rayon divisions.

Russian Press, Publishers Association Set Up

LD2209105791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0500 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] A Russian Press and Publishers Association, RAPI [rossiyskaya assotsiatsiya pressy i izdatelyey], has been set up in Moscow. It has been founded by more than 40 independent publications, mainly Russian regional newspapers. USSR People's Deputy Prokushev, who is chief of the department of periodical publications of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of Press and Mass Media, has been elected president. RAPI's main purpose is to support and promote the development of the Russian independent press. It intends to set up its own commercial enterprises, printing facilities, and a distribution network. Foreign economic activity is also planned.

Commercial Banks Accuse State Bank of Inaction

LD1909035891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1415 GMT 17 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, 17 Sep (TASS)—The major associations of commercial banks in the Russian Federation today accused the state structures of the republics of the administrative-bureaucratic restriction of banking activities.

The Association of Russian Banks and the Council of the Moscow Bankers Union have sent a letter to Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] President Boris Yeltsin, in which they called "for a strengthening of the leadership of the Bank of Russia with competent and enterprising specialists," which could improve the activities of the republic's banking system.

The crisis situation which has evolved in the RSFSR economy, in the opinion of the authors of the letter, requires decisive and competent action on the part of the Bank of Russia in the development of banking entrepreneurship in the period of the transition to market relations.

However, this main bank of the republic, they consider, "is coping poorly with the basic tasks in the stabilization of currency circulation and the accumulation of monetary resources for financing the development of the economy." "In the republic there has been a considerable increase in overall money supply and the inflation of money, which is undermining the economy and reducing the standard of living of the population," the letter to Boris Yeltsin says.

Among the impermissible measures named by the authors of the letter in the Bank of Russia's influence on commercial banks are the months taken over the formalities for issuing licences, the spontaneous withdrawal of credit resources, the cumbersome statistical accountability, illegal fines, and so forth and so on.

Altay Uses Incentives for More Delivery of Grain

LD2209090291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Traffic has become more lively on the breadgrain routes in Altay kray. Increased rates for grain procurement have been introduced there. On average, they have increased threefold. While each tonne of strong wheat being delivered by collective and state farms to fulfill the state order was being accepted at 500 rubles, now 1,500

rubles is being paid. Buckwheat is being purchased at an even higher price, for almost 3,000 rubles.

Other incentives have appeared, too. For augmented grain procurements toward the state order, the kray executive committee has allocated over 7,000 refrigerators, washing and sewing machines, and television sets, and over 800 saloon cars. Questions in the sale of grain by collective and state farms and peasant farms for hard currency have been resolved. As a result of these measures, the farms of Altay kray hope to deliver to the state toward the production tax and the state order some 1 million tonnes of grain, mainly strong and valuable varieties of wheat. This will be done despite the drought.

Bashkir Statistics Committee Reviews Performance

LD2209091491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Report from Ufa by reporter Andrey Krivoshey]

[Text] The announcement by the Bashkir Soviet Socialist Republic State Committee for Statistics, published on 18 September in the republic's newspapers, says that in August the principal industrial sectors began to stabilize somewhat. Despite this, industrial output for January to August fell by 1.6 percent in comparable prices. The overall decline in industrial output, specialists from the State Committee for Statistics stress, is caused by a continuing downturn in production of about two-thirds of the most important products. Enterprises are trying to compensate for the overall volume by turning out more expensive products rather than actually increasing physical output.

The shortfall in deliveries of goods to consumers amounted to 180.6 million rubles. One of the reasons for breaches of contract is irregular supplies to the republic of raw and other materials and components. Because of this, in August alone 32 enterprises suffered stoppages of individual production lines and workshops. As of 1 September in the industrial sector, 51 leasehold and 24 small enterprises were functioning.

As for agriculture, according to figures available by 9 September, nearly 93 percent of the grain crops had been harvested. Over 2.7 million tonnes of grain had been threshed. the average harvest yield is 12.1 quintals per hectare. Only 86 percent of the food tax target has been met. The situation in livestock breeding is not improving. Sales of cattle and poultry have dropped. Due to this overall drop in production of livestock products, procurement has also fallen. By 1 September, 418 peasant and private farms had been registered.

The output of consumer goods increased by only 0.5 percent, while output of foodstuffs fell by 9 percent.

Nonetheless, the experts believe, rumors of a hungry winter are a little overdone. Analyzing the data received, however, one could conclude that this winter, if only in terms of food, will be considerably harder than in past years. This was strongly influenced by the very dry summer, which made the harvest yield several times lower than last year. Despite this, one sincerely hopes that we will all overcome this difficult stage in our lives.

Khabarovsk Food Situation Remains Acute

PM2009085591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by Colonel V. Usoltesv: "Food Production Declines"]

[Text] Khabarovsk—The food problem in Khabarovsk Kray remains one of the most acute. That is borne out by the figures from the kray statistics administration published in the local press. Thus, the production of meat, milk, and eggs compared with last year fell by an average of 12 percent. The livestock and poultry population continues to decline. Purchases of milk, livestock, and poultry from the population have dwindled.

Specialists see the reason for this state of affairs primarily in the shortage of food, modern technical equipment, and skilled cadres.

Buryat-Mongol Party Critical of Draft Constitution

LD2309004591 Moscow TASS in English 2158 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Trofimov]

Ulan-Ude September 23 TASS—The Buryat-Mongol People's Party on Sunday said the draft Russian Constitution is unacceptable for sovereign Buryatia.

"The draft constitution given to us and the Buryat government by Russian deputies does not meet the interests of former autonomous republics within the Russian Federation," party leader Igor Pronkin said.

"The document says nothing about relations between the Russian Federation and republics. It does not determine their political and economic status within the Federation. Buryatia is a state, but we have been equated with a territory, a land area. It is an attempt to downgrade republics's role, and this is incompatible with democracy and the right to self-determination.

"The draft constitution lacks flexibility. The document treats all alike. We believe, the draft will cause confrontation among republics forming the Russian Federation. The draft says nothing about the national composition of the Federation and republics. The adoption of this Constitution will be the biggest mistake of Russian President Boris Yeltsin. I would also like to stress all these remarks were supported by the Republic's government," Pronkin said.

The party decided to make a thorough examination of the draft together with representatives of other political parties and movements in the Republic.

Reportage Continues on Chechen-Ingush Situation

Provisional Council Head Named

OW2009224991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Hussain Akhmadov, 51, has become head of the Chechen-Ingush Provisional Council. A graduate of the Groznyy University, he worked as a researcher at the republic's Institute of Economics, Sociology and Philology, and then as a teacher of history in a village school.

Mr. Akhmadov is a people's deputy of Checheno-Ingushetia and deputy head of the National Chechen Congress.

Elections Set for Oct

OW2009225191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The mass protest rally in the Chechen-Ingush capital Groznyy was stopped on Friday [20 September], exactly one month after it had begun. Its participants had spent 30 days at the entrance to the republic's Supreme Soviet, demanding that the parliament resign for its antidemocratic activity and cooperation with the putschists.

IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent reports the rally ended after the local press published a National Chechen Congress resolution establishing a 13-member Provisional Council of Checheno-Ingushetia as a body subordinated to the Congress.

The resolution says presidential elections will be held in the republic on October 19, and parliamentary elections on October 27. A draft law on republican citizenship, the text of which was published by the Chechen-Ingush press on Friday, is due to be passed on October 12.

Official Discusses Resolutions

OW2009230291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1852 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Interview with Jafar Dudayev, chairman of the "executive committee responsible for carrying out the resolutions adopted by the congress of the Chechen people," by correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov; place and date not given; from the "Nation and Society" feature; transmitted via KYODO: "Chechen Republic Within Russia?"]

[Text] Last May the congress of the Chechen people took a decision in favour of the sovereignty of the Chechen-Ingush Republic. However, the Supreme Soviet of the republic and the new executive committee were not able to find common ground, so that the conflict was manifested in extreme forms. A few days ago the Supreme Soviet was disbanded.

The 46-year-old Major-General Jafar Dudayev (ret'd) is chairman of the executive committee charged with carrying out the decision adopted at the congress. He resigned his commission in May, when he was elected chairman, having served as commander of a strategic aircraft division armed with nuclear weapons.

Our correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov spoke with Major-General Dudayev just as the Supreme Soviet was about to be wound up.

[Terekhov] How did your confrontation with the parliament of the Chechen-Ingush Republic begin?

[Dudayev] I didn't want it. At first I was simply watching what our parliament was doing. I was eager to bring together all forces to turn our executive committee into something parliament could rely on in its efforts to put the sovereignty our people had proclaimed into practice. We kept offering our services for 11 months and were working out fundamental documents based on international law to facilitate the republic's transition from the totalitarian regime to a democratic, law-based political system. We recognize no acts which are not based on law, something our opponents could have no arguments against. So they started putting up obstacles to our work everywhere. It was even forbidden to mention my name in the media - anyone who did would have lost their jobs.

[Terekhov] What is the gist of the demands your movement and congress are making?

[Dudayev] We demand that a new political system be introduced, that the totalitarian regime be abolished and that the status of the republic be changed. In our republic, as everywhere else, the Communist Party has lost its positions, which individuals describing themselves as the "people's choice" were quick to fill. Which means we have a new form of totalitarian regime where the powers-that-be, that is the deputies, have parliamentary immunity to protect them from being taken to task for their crimes.

It's no secret that we had corruption on a vast scale in our republic for many years. Things aren't much better in that respect these days either. So I'm convinced that bureaucrats who've become deputies would seek to "work off" what they had been paid by dealers in the shadow economy rather than doing something for the people. The former Supreme Soviet would turn every good idea into its opposite. The same goes for privatization. They have already ruined the republic's economy and finances, and it is the ordinary people who suffer most. Living standards here are some of the lowest in the Soviet Union, the mortality rate among children is very high, and life expectancy is fairly low. The incidence of tuberculosis and other lung diseases is the highest in the

Soviet Union. We owe this to the factories using primitive technologies which pollute the environment. Considering this, privatization should be carried out very carefully. Even now the gap between rich and poor is quite enormous m there are more and more millionaires and billionaires, on the one hand, and lots of absolutely destitute people, on the other.

[Terekhov] Do you mean privatization should be put under control?

[Dudayev] Certainly. Especially in our republic, where the shadow economy had grabbed as much as it could even before privatization began. Whole ministries and departments have been set up working exclusively for the powers-that-be. They're doing nothing but harm to the people and are simply pumping money out of the republic. A mere 8 per cent of the republic's population have jobs in the economy. Ninety per cent of school leavers are unemployed, and the remaining 10 per cent have to pay a bribe amouting to tens of thousands of roubles either to get a job or a place at university. More sensible people go to work in Moscow or St. Petersburg or other cities. Some of them slide into crime, for they feel they wouldn't survive otherwise. It is they who are to blame for the frightening image of a Chechen. This is a disgrace for our people that I find most upsetting.

[Terekhov] Do you think your republic should leave the Soviet Union and Russian?

[Dudayev] I don't think it should do either. But I'm convinced that we have no future unless we build our own structure of some kind without either Russian or Union interference. We wish to be an independent entity and have agreements with Russia.

[Terekhov] Do you think you could delegate some of your rights to Russia?

[Dudayev] Certainly. But on the condition that Russia respects our independence and lets us solve our own problems. I think that issues of defence, economic ties and certain structures like the public prosecutor system and the KGB should remain the prerogative of the Union. But these are not the most important things. So far we have only identified major priorities in our programme and the resolution adopted by the congress: to work out fundamental documents, to adopt a new constitution and legislation on citizenship, and also to carry out a referendum taking into account the interests of all citizens regardless of nationality, religious beliefs and political convictions.

[Terekhov] What do you think about the criticism levelled at you by your opponents?

[Dudayev] I know they depict me as the "bloodthirsty general" intent on imposing a military regime. But that's very far from the truth. Infringing on the interests of just one individual, never mind the whole nation, is a road to nowhere. We'd like to see a time when our citizens are no longer destitute, deprived of their rights and intimidated. Russians are frightened with Chechens, Jews with Russians and Armenians with Azerbaijanians. The people themselves have understood it is time to put an end to this. That's why they form picket lines. To be quite honest, I didn't think Chechen people had reached such a level of maturity to carry out a civilized campaign in that way and show so much patience. For about a month now old people, children and women have been demanding what they are entitled to m that new elections are held and an opportunity is provided for the adoption of new laws. Everything has passed off in a very organized way, without any threats. We need a new constitution, new legislation on elections and referenda and we need a single citizenship. We ought not to be divided into Armenians, Jevs, Russians and Chechens. Every individual should simply be a citizen with the same rights and responsibilities.

[Terekhov] Are you planning to set up a Chechen-Ingush or just a Chechen republic?

[Dudayev] The Ingush people should be left to make their own choice. Let them decide themselves whether they want to be part of a Chechen-Ingush republic. We'll be pleased if they do. But if the Igush people want to establish their own autonomous state within Russia, we won't object to this either. It's their right.

[Terekhov] What course do you expect events to take?

[Dudayev] I believe that the Russian Parliament, having familiarized itself with the actual situation, will pretend not to interfere in the sovereign affairs of the Chechen-Ingush Republic and will hand over these powers to the authorities at central level. The deputies of the now defunct Parliament will ask for troops to be sent in and direct presidential rule introduced, a state of emergency and so on, in an attempt to crush our movement. The Russian central authorities would be more suited at the moment by the totalitarianism of Zavgayev m the former Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR—than by the idea of our republic standing on its own feet. Instead of taking steps to thwart Zavgayev's nasty tricks, they backed him. To give just a few examples, an Interior Ministry regiment was put on battle readiness, KGB men were called to Grozniy from the various districts, and senior officials of the Interior Ministry and the Russian Public Prosecutor's Office arrived from Moscow. Why was all this done? Why were arms handed out by the Interior Ministry to residents of two districts regarded as the backbone of Zavgayev's support? I feel perfectly justified in saying it vas for the purpose of taking action against us.

Realizing what was happening, about 15,000 people from Grozniy and its surroundings congregated in the city centre and organized an ongoing protest meeting. They believe neither the Kremlin, nor the Russian centre, nor the Supreme Soviets. They expect us to take action. I think there may be some provocation, because you only need one spark to set off the whole powder keg.

These days people are prepared to die for democracy and independence. Public opinion is being manipulated at the moment in Krasnodar and Stavropol territories and Rostov Region. Rumours are being spread that the Chechens are out to kill the local Cossacks. I'm sure that this is all inspired by the centre. Without help from the centre and without its encouragement a body which had already resigned would not have been able to intoduce emergency provisions. I can confidently say that this approach in dealing with us is futile. These mechanisms are no longer effective. Today we ought to be given a chance to take care of our own future.

State of Emergency Declared in Dagestan Area

PM1909113591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by O. Shapovalov: "State of Emergency in Dagestan"]

[Text] By order of the Dagestan Supreme Soviet, a state of emergency has been introduced in Kazbekovskiy Rayon. This measure aims to prevent possible clashes between Chechen-Akin and Avar peoples.

It became necessary to resort to this soon after the initial moves to implement the plan adopted by the Third Congress of Dagestan People's Deputies in the middle of this year. It envisages restoring Aukhovskiy Rayon, which belonged to the Chechen people until 1944; resettling the Lak people currently occupying these lands; and also allocating plots for residential construction in Kazbekovskiy Rayon.

Situation Remains 'Tense'

LD2209222591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] According to reports arriving in Moscow, the situation in the Dagestan Soviet Socialist Republic remains tense. The open- ended strike of 25,000 Chechens and Lakints, who are demanding to be returned to their lands, is continuing. The state of emergency introduced in Kazbekovskiy rayon is producing no positive results.

Relations between the Chechens and Lakints and the Avarts and (Almakts) are becoming exacerbated. In the view of the strike committee, normalization of the situation in Kazbekovskiy rayon is possible only if a decree of the Dagestan Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet on restoring (?Okhovskiy) rayon to its borders of 1944, and returning historic names to villages, is published.

New Consortium Seeks Siberian Development

LD2109142691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1008 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Vostokov]

[Text] Khabarovsk, 20 September (TASS)—A new consortium "Far Eastern Union" is called upon to assist in effective economic and social development of the far east and eastern Siberia.

Among its founders are major enterprises of the Soviet Far East, Siberia, eastern regions of the country and the "Asia" bank from New York, the "Citizen Group" company from New Jersey, "Dongbu Company Ltd" from South Korea and "Mannen", general society of public health of the DPRK. The founding fund amounts to 148 million rubles.

The priority directions of the consortium's activity are the development of transportation, communications and infrastructure. An alternative passenger and freight air line based on state, joint- stock and private property is being created in the region. A shipping, ship-repairing and ship-building company will be created on a joint-stock basis. Creation of a far eastern investment company, the industrial association "Conversion" and the "Forrest" and "Seafood" associations is also planned. Developing raw and natural resources in the region will become one of the most important elements of the consortium's activity.

Siberia's Islamic Culture Center To Open in Omsk

OW1909141691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A center of Islamic culture will open in Omsk, East Siberia, on September 28-29. The opening ceremony is expected to be attended by representatives of all the USSR's Muslim republics, as well as guests from Algeria, Iran, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan and other countries.

As IF's [INTERFAX] reporter has learned at the Islamic Culture Center in Moscow, foreign Muslims intend to meet with the city leaders in Omsk to discuss the present situation in the regional Muslim community and ways of promoting cultural and commercial links between Siberia and the Muslim world.

Tiraspol Urges Women To End Railway Blockade

OW1909175191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday, the executive committee of the Tiraspol City Soviet urged women of the Dnestr Republic to stop blocking railways. Head of the Press

Centre of the Dnestr Republic's Supreme Soviet, Valeriy Litskai, told IF [INTERFAX]. He said that in their turn the Moldovan volunteers and police had stopped blocking the motorways on the right bank of the Dnestr on September 19.

On Friday a special session of the Dnestr Republic's Supreme Soviet will discuss the possibility of stopping the blockade of the railway. Women had begun the blockade after the arrest of the republic's leaders against whom legal action had been started for charges of neglecting the laws of Moldova.

Mr. Litskai also said that on Friday all deputies of the Dnestr Republic's Supreme Soviet would ask the women to end the blockade of the railway.

'Konversia 91' Exhibition Opens in Vladivostok

OW2009081291 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 0930 GMT 13 Sep 91

[Report by L. Savitskiy; from the "Vremya" newescast]

[Text] Our correspondent reports that an exhibition of technical innovations and developments in instruments made by the country's shipbuilding enterprises opened in Vladivostok—'Konversiya '91'.

[Begin recording] [Savitskiy] Many enterprises of our country take part in the making of such complex battle ships. [Video shows what looks like Kara-class BPK ships moored in water].

As a result of the conversion, their manufacturing plans have lately undergone a significant change. And here, the Dalpribor [Far East Instrument] Association, they demonstrate their achievements in a field new to them—manufacturing products for peaceful purposes only. Using the high technological level of the production and the qualifications of the personnel, the Sudpromstroy [Shipbuilding Industry] enterprises build computerized [dermograf] such as this one and unique sophisticated medical instruments. Radio equipment and kitchen electrical appliance are also well represented. [Video shows what looks like a personal computer, electronic devices, audio equipment, and video interview with V. T. Pallo, general director of the Dalpribor association]

There is an opinion that defense enterprises do not make profit from manufacturing goods for the people.

[Pallo] No, I would not say that. Since we have entered a free market and can make agreements with our partners, our products—and I think directors of other enterprises will support me—are becoming economically profitable. Therefore, this is the only way open to us.

[Savitskiy] Today, with the conversion to market economy, does your enterprise cut back on military prodduction?

[Pallo] Today, I can give the numbers. If two years ago we had a correlation of 75 percent to 25 percent, today the ratio is a reverse one, that is 25 percent to 75 percent.

[Savitskiy] In other words, 75 percent will be...

[Pallo] [interrupting] ... Civilian goods, and the rest is only what is needed to support the existing technology, to insure our defensibility, the defensibility of our country.

[Savitskiy] Guided by common sense, which is the order of the day, the so-called 'closed' enterprises of St Petersburg, Vladivostok, Kiev, Lvov, and Lugansk displayed their hardware not as exhibits but as market goods. Therefore, it is believed that the exhibition will become a permanent one, and samples will help to make sales and deals. [end recording]

Vorkuta Miners Stage Strikes Over Pay Difference

LD2109060791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1230 GMT 20 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Makharov]

[Text] Vorkuta (Komi SSR), 20 Sep (TASS)—Wildcat strikes have taken place in recent days in some coal production areas and auxiliary sectors of the Vorkuta mines. The reason for this is the great difference, amounting to 2,000-3,000 rubles, in the August wages paid out to miners of the main production areas and to auxiliary sectors and services. Such wages were paid out after the miners of the transpolar town came under the jurisdiction of the state bodies of Russia.

Vyacheslav Tukan, chairman of the Vorkuta town workers' committee, appealed to the miners not to stage strikes that have not been sanctioned by the strike committee. He explained this by the fact that strikes are now in essence "anti-Yeltsin and anti-Russia." Vyacheslav Tukan called upon the miners to resolve the conflict that has arisen "in a cilivized way." The economists of the association "Vorkutaugol" have embarked working out provisions for evening out the miners' wages.

External Affairs

Yeltsin Meets American Banker in Moscow

LD2409173191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] On 24 September, Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], received Corrigan, president of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, who was in Moscow on a working visit. During the meeting, they discussed the issues of Russian-U.S. economic and financial cooperation and the problems of assisting the reform of finance, banks, and banking in Russia in conditions of the switch to the market.

Tomorrow, 25 September, RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin intends to leave Moscow for a vacation.

'New Stage' in Relations To Begin With Japan

LD1909180391 Moscow TASS in English 1753 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow September 19 TASS—Russia's State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis today received the ambassador of Japan to the Soviet Union, Sumio Edamuru, at his request.

During the conversation Burbulis and Edamura confirmed the intention of both countries, guided by principles of law and justice, to begin a new stage in their relations.

The conversation took place in an atmosphere of sincerity and mutual understanding characteristic of recent Russo-Japanese relations.

Sakhalin Official on Defense Units in Kurils

OW1909223991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1830 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The moral climate in the Kuril Islands leaves much to be desired—said the chairman of the Sakhalin regional council Anatoliy Aksyonov at a press-conference in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. He links it with the latest events in the dispute over the so-called "northern territories" between the USSR and Japan, specifically with the pronouncements by the leaders of the Russian Federation.

A. Aksyonov said that opponents of handing the islands over to Japan "have been calling for setting up self-defence units."

INTERFAX reports that according to A. Aksyonov the regional council "is all for keeping the territorial integrity of the Sakhalin region" including the disputed islands. Aksyonov appealed to the people of the Kuril and South-Kuril districts to keep calm.

Kuril Inhabitants Urges 'Self-Defense Detachments'

PM1909105191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by TASS correspondent Ye. Belovitskiy: "Holding Out to the Last Round"]

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk—Spontaneous meetings of the inhabitants are taking place in the population centers on the islands of the lesser Kuril ridge. This was reported by Anatoliy Aksenov, chairman of the Sakhalin Oblast Soviet. Various proposals are being voiced at the meetings—right up to the creation of self-defense detachments. In the opinion of the oblast soviet chairman this has been prompted by the results of the visit by R. Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, to Tokyo, items about which in central publications have been interpreted here as a "call" to their imminent move to the mainland.

Telegrams and letters of protest have been sent to the Soviet organs, the president of the country and the president of the RSFSR, and to international organizations. And the Yuzhno-Kurilskiy Rayon Soviet Presidium has even appealed to the Japanese people over the matter.

The oblast soviet chairman noted that inhabitants here have ceased to trust the ability of Soviet leaders of all ranks in the present critical situation to resolve the problems which perturb them.

Riga's OMON Personnel Face Problems in Tyumen

PM2109104791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Sep 91 First Edition p 3

[Report from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and TASS correspondents roundup under "Direct Line" rubric: "In a New Place"]

[Text] Tyumen, 12 Sep—"An Englishman has been beaten up, they burst into a restaurant with submachine guns and made everyone lie on the floor, they search vehicles and beat people up for disobedience"—such rumors about the actions of staffers of the Riga OMON [special-purpose militia detachment], a unit of which has been serving on the city's streets for a week, have spread around the oblast center not without the involvement of local journalists. At a news conference, however, representatives of the leadership of the internal affairs administration, the justice department, and the prosecutor's office declared that there has not been a single official complaint against OMON personnel.

"People who have come into conflict with the law might complain," E. Pakhomov, chief of the public security militia service, said. "The usual work is being done, except that the demands have become somewhat harder. Both the newcomers and our own staffers are performing tours of duty together. Incidentally, at present the OMON personnel are even without their authorized weapons, but with their help 23 people have been detained during the week for possession of weapons and drugs, as well as those involved in automobile theft, speculation, and robbery."

You get the feeling that people want once again to draw the newcomers to Tyumen into political games, because this was heard at the news conference: Your hands have blood on them, you are killers, etc. There have been attempts to make the guys from Riga clash with the local militia. It is hardly advisable to fuel passions today.

Russian Group Suggests Return of NKAO

OW2009161291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Andrey Nuikin, co-chairman of Karabakh (KRIK), a committee of Russian intelligentsia, believes that having declared independence, Azerbaijan "virtually returned to the legal status of the 1918-20 period when there was an independent Azerbaijani republic. According to Nuikin who is now in Stepanakert, the decisions on Nagorno-Karabakh passed in the Soviet period are thereby null and void, including the decision on the incorporation of Nagorno-Karabakh into Azerbaijan.

Nuikin believes that the area must be incorporated into Russia, in accordance with the 1813 Gyulistan Treaty.

According to KRIK member, writer Inessa Burkova, who is also in Stepanakert, the best policy in terms of the resolution of the Karabakh conflict would be to recognize the area as a subject of a federation or confederation. "This decision should not be a declaration, and Russia must give Karabakh political, economic and even military aid in case of need," she emphasized.

Poll Shows Russians Reject UN NKAO Role

LD2109122191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Summary] Sociologists from the independent service Opinion [Mneniye] conducted a poll in Russia in which almost 47 percent of respondents said it is not necessary to bring the UN into the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast situation. Approximately 24 percent are prepared to invite UN troops to halt the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict. Around 30 percent have no opinion, while 52.5 percent of respondents think Soviet troops should be withdrawn from the Transcaucasus. Twenty-three percent are against such a withdrawal. Twenty percent did not answer.

Deputies Find No Moldovan Human Rights Violations

OW1909123091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1000 GMT 19 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of Russian MPs [Member of Parliament] has not discovered apparent violations of human rights by the parliament and government of Moldova. This was disclosed at a Wednesday news conference by a presidium member of parliament Sergey Krasavchenko who visited Moldova at instructions from Boris Yeltsin to see the situation before the signing of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two republics.

Krasavchenko described as unconstitutional the proclamation of the Dnestr River Valley Republic in the territory of Moldova and as inadequate all following actions of the leaders of the region, such as the blockade of railways and highways.

Krasavchenko said the crisis between the leaders of Moldova and the self-proclaimed republic can be settled only if both sides strictly observe laws.

St. Petersburg Expedition Returns From Antarctic

LD2209112191 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kozlovskiy and Nikolay Krupenik]

[Text] St. Petersburg September 22 TASS—Even "the patriarchs" of Polar exploration cannot recall a winter expedition to the Antarctic that lasted as long as this one. More than 200 researchers and specialists, members of the Soviet Antarctic expedition, have returned to St. Petersburg after they spent nearly two years on the white continent.

They arrived on board the expedition vessels Akademik Fedorov and Professor Wiese.

TASS learned at the press centre of the Arctic and Antarctic Research Institute that the summer season had ended in the Antarctic in April. In early May, people at the Molodezhnaya polar station were waiting for the arrival of the last ship of the Soviet Antarctic expedition before the winter set in order to be taken home. But something unexpected happened: Fire broke out in the machine room of Akademik Fedor, the expedition's flagship.

The crew had to abort the trip and return to Singapore for repairs. The diesel-powered ship Mikhail Somov was sent to the Antarctic instead. However, the ship failed to force its way through the heavy ice to the station: It was locked in ice 60 kilometers off the coast.

It was then decided to send an Ilyushin-76 plane to the rescue. No flights of this time had been earlier performed in winter. Fortunately, the plane landed safely on an artificial airfield prepared by expedition members beforehand, took some of them on board and flew to Capetown. Some of them later flew home by airplane, the rest arrived to St. Petersburg aboard expedition vessels.

In early October, Akademik Fedorov will take a new group of polar explorers to the Antarctic.

Belorussia

Foreign Minister Kravchenko on Polish Relations

AU2409130791 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Sep 91 p 1

[Interview with Belorussian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko by Dymitr Podbierezski; place and date not given: "Back To The Golden Age"]

[Text] [Podbierezski] What do you think were the reasons that the declaration of cooperation between Belarus and Poland was not concluded last year?

[Kravchenko] Let me say straightaway that the Poles came to us expecting some kind of whirlwind tour of Belarus, Russia, and the Ukraine. They clearly did not expect Belarus to refuse to sign that declaration. We decided that as long as questions connected with the ethnic and cultural development of the Belarusan minority in Bialystok Voivodship remained unresolved, we could not sign this declaration. There are very complex issues connected with the functioning of social organizations and the construction of a museum in Hajnowka and of Belarusan secondary schools, in other words the things that create a nation's countenance.

[Podbierezski] Assuming the Belarusans in Poland do have certain domestic problems, what is the situation of Poles living in Belarus like?

[Kravchenko] A kind of gentleman's agreement exists between me and Mr. Skubiszewski. I suggested that Mr. Skubiszewski would supervise the cultural development of the Belarusan minority in Poland, and I would do the same with the Polish minority in Belarus. We already have a Mickiewicz Society [Mickiewicz was a 19th century Polish poet], Grodno University has begun to train Polish teachers for schools and kindergartens, and seminaries have been opened. Close ties bind our two peoples. If we are to pursue universal values and follow in the footsteps of the Helsinki process, we must resolve all nationality issues on a practical and political level.

We live in Europe, therefore we are obliged to treat the ethnic minorities in our countries seriously. The Belarusans have always distinguished themselves with their high degree of tolerance. Therefore we cannot be hostile to Polish culture and language. In the 1920's and 1930's many issues concerning the Polish minority were resolved successfully. There were Polish schools and colleges, a department of Polish art and literature at the Belarusan Academy of Sciences, and a Polish history. Now we must return to that "golden age" of our mutual history.

[Podbierezski] How do you view Belarusan-Polish contacts today, and how do you think they will develop?

[Kravchenko] We are still working on a new text of a declaration. We are waiting for a Polish group of experts to arrive. I think we will soon succeed in working out the kind of document Minister Skubiszewski and I have in mind.

[Podbierezski] Do you think recent events such as the attempted coup in Moscow and Belarus' declaration of independence can affect Belarusan-Polish relations?

[Kravchenko] I very much liked the stance adopted by Georgia, which said that the Moscow coup was the business of as foreign country with which Georgia has no connection. In Belarus the situation is somewhat different, but the documents adopted by our Supreme Soviet show that we are steadily proceeding toward true independence, though perhaps not as fast as other nations. In any case, each step toward independence will consolidate our mutual relations and create good conditions for contacts between two fraternal peoples.

[Podbierezski) So when can one expect the conclusion of a Belarusan-Polish declaration?

[Kravchenko] I prefer not try and give an exact date, because that is impossible. But work in this direction is continuing.

Ukraine

KGB Replaced With National Security Service

PM2509081191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Tsikora under "Direct Line" rubric: "Ukraine Says Good-Bye to KGB"]

[Text] Kiev—In line with a republic Supreme Soviet resolution, the Ukrainian KGB has been abolished.

Questions of intelligence and counterintelligence will now be the domain of the Ukrainian National Security Service (SNB). It will be subordinate to the Supreme Soviet chairman (until the Ukrainian presidential elections) and controlled by the Supreme Soviet.

The question of setting up the SNB was discussed behind closed doors, but journalists managed to find out a few details. Understandably, accusations leveled at the old KGB were expressed in abundance. Clearly by way of reinforcing the conviction that the KGB should be abolished, it was even confirmed that tens of thousands of officers idled away their time in this organization, failing to expose a single foreign agent in 10 years, although they "consumed" up to a billion rubles per year. The department leadership categorically objected to such conclusions and evaluations, but could not produce counterarguments...

All the material and technical potential belonging to the former organization will be placed at the disposal of the

new security service, which does not form part of the union republic KGB structure. The SNB will have its own training center. It will be based on former USSR KGB schools located in Kiev and will henceforth be called the Ukrainian Institute for Training SNB Cadres.

Intelligence Service Setup, Tasks

LD2509062191 Moscow TASS in English 0338 GMT 25 Sep 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Litvinov]

[Text] Kiev September 25 TASS—There is no more State Security Committee in the Ukraine, a news conference was told here on Tuesday.

The Ukrainian National Security Service was created on a committee basis under the decision of a closed plenary meeting of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Vasiliy Durdinets, the chairman of the standing commission on defence and state security of the Ukrainian parliament, Nikolay Golushko, the acting chairman of the Security Service and the former head of the republican KGB, and Ukrainian People's Deputy Yuriy Kostenko told the news conference.

The National Security Service is an essentially new formation that is not a part of the union-republican state security committee, the conference participants said.

However, the service will use all material and technical resources of the former organization.

Before the Ukrainian president is elected, the service will be subordinated to the chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet and controlled by the Supreme Soviet.

The service will provide for the following activities: intelligence, counter-intelligence, fight against corruption and the ecological security.

Units of the former State Security Committee, which protected governmental buildings and consulates general of foreign states in Kiev, are passed to the republican guard.

Border troops stationed on Ukrainian territory are subordinated to the Cabinet of Ministers.

It is supposed that service staffers will be militarymen, working on contract.

The budget of the new service will not exceed the present one, which runs into 130 million roubles. All KGB archives, but the latest strategical, will be passed to the state archives of the Ukraine. [sentence as received]

A training centre will be established on the basis of the Soviet State Security Committee advanced training courses in Kiev. They will now be named the Institute for Training Personnel for the Ukrainian National Security Service.

As for staffers of the former KGB, they will remain on their posts until the creation of the new service structure. Those of them who express their wish to work for the National Security Service, will be subjected to individual selection.

Papers Threatened by Nondelivery of Newsprint

PM2409160591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent M. Odinets: "Journalists Locked Out"]

[Text] The second hearing on the question of the mass media at the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session has also ended without a result. The collectives of RABOCHAYA GAZETA and KYYIVSKA PRAVDA have come out against attacks on and complaints against their publications on the part of certain Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic people's deputies.

A number of newspapers might not appear in the immediate future owing to a lack of paper. PRAVDA UKRAINY has reported that the leadership of Kondopoga Pulp and Paper Combine, citing the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet resolution of 24 October 1990, has cut deliveries of paper to the RADYANSKA UKRAYINA combine by almost one-fourth. So there is no longer any paper for the newspaper's 70 remaining issues this year, and none is foreseen. The biggest publication in the Ukraine—the newspaper SILSKI VISTI—will not appear next Tuesday either.

The branch of IAN was transformed into the Ukrainian Independent News Agency by decree of the republic Supreme Soviet at the end of August. Without waiting for the planned reorganization, V. Kolinko, who was appointed its acting director, removed O. Kharchenko, the previous head, from the premises with the help of the militia and changed the locks on the doors, barring the journalists' access.

Moldova

Muravschi Attends Tallin Consultative Council

AU2209181491 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] Valeriu Muravschi, prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, participated in the session of the Consultative Council held in Tallin by the chiefs of government of some states and union republics.

As Chisinau [Kishinev] Radio reports, during the proceedings of the Consultative Committee certain protocols on coordinating relations between the states and republics attending the meeting were signed in such areas as the economy, transportation, telecommunications, finances, and payments.

The prime minister of the Republic of Moldova held talks with Estonia's premier, Mr. Savisaar, with Mr. Fokin, prime minister of the Ukraine, and with Mr. Kalnish [name as heard], vice prime minister of Latvia.

On his way to Chisinau, Mr. Valeriu Muravschi had a meeting in Moscow with Mr. Medvedev, president of the legislative commission for interethnic relations of the Russian Federation.

Rail Blockade Continues in Dnestr Area

LD2509053491 Moscow TASS in English 1221 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Kishinev September 24 TASS—Despite the Tiraspol City Council's decision to lift the blockade off Moldovan railways, women there continue to picket the tracks, demanding that local law-enforcers go under the control of the Dnestr republic, the MOLDOVA-PRESS news agency reports.

Law-enforcement services in Tiraspol, city officials told the agency, will follow the example of colleagues in Rybnitsa and Kamenka and pledge allegiance to the Dnestr republic on Wednesday.

Georgia

Reportage on State of Emergency Decree

Gamsakhurdia Decree Detailed

LD2409221191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] President of Georgia Zviad Gamsakhurdia has published a decree on introduction in Tbilisi of a state of emergency. The document states that since "a military and civilian putsch is underway in the republic, a junta controlling some military forces has been created, the mass media is being blocked by military formations, attacks are being perpetrated on militiamen in order to seize weapons, and citizens' cars are being searched, a state of emergency is to be declared in Tbilisi from 25 September." Colonel (Kutatiladze) is appointed military commandant of the city. The presidential decree announces universal mobilization on the whole territory of the Republic. Local authorities are instructed to create mobilization centers and people's patrols. The Ministry of the Interior of the Republic is to exercise the rights given by law to establish order and insure the safety of the citizens.

Includes Full Mobilization

LD2409194991 Moscow TASS in English 1932 GMT 24 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi September 24 TASS—In accordance with the Georgian National Security Council's resolution, the Georgian president today issued a decree introducing a state of emergency in Tbilisi from 00:00 on September 25, President Zviad Gamsakhurdia of Georgia told a news conference here today."

The decree also declares total mobilisation, but it does not impose a curfew, he said.

Former Foreign Minister Views Gamsakhurdia 'Fear'

PM2409140391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Fear, Not Reason"]

[Text] Tbilisi—"The Georgian president's actions at this time of crisis are governed by fear, not reason," former Georgian foreign minister Georgiy Khoshtariya believes. In an interview with TASS correspondents yesterday, he said that Z. Gamsakhurdia "in his appeals is using appeals [as published] which for a republic leader and politician are intolerable and could lead to the start of a civil war."

The former leader of the foreign policy department, who was dismissed in August by Georgian presidential decree, believes that in the present situation "it is necessary first and foremost to begin a dialogue with the opposition." According to him, "if either side resorts to armed force the only possible outcome would be a Pyrrhic victory."

Reportage on Abkhazian Supreme Council Actions

Council Ethnically Predetermined

AU2409092091 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 12 Sep 91 p 2

[Article by Tengiz Pachkoriya, SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA correspondent: "Abkhazia on the Eve of Elections"]

[Text] A meeting of the Central Electoral Commission on the Elections of Deputies to the Abkhazian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] Supreme Council (the elections are set for 29 September) was held in Sukhumi. Representatives of executive committees of town and rayon councils of people's deputies, of rayon and town electoral commissions, of the production and technological communications board, of the Abkhazian ASSR printing production association, and of the mass media were invited to take part in the meeting. The meeting was opened and conducted by Vyacheslav Tsugba, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission on the Elections of Deputies to the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council. A report on the preparations for local elections was presented at the meeting and it was pointed out that the nomination and registration of candidates for deputies was already completed. It was also pointed out that, on the whole, the election campaign is proceeding in a normal atmosphere and in accordance with the law.

It was stressed at the meeting that, in almost all electoral districts, alternative candidates have been nominated—two, three, or four per seat and, in some districts, even six or eight per seat.

Let us remind you that the voters are to elect 65 deputies to the autonomous republic's parliament. It is known in advance that the future Abkhazian Supreme Council will include 26 deputies of Georgian nationality and 28 of Abkhaz nationality; representatives of other (than Georgian or Abkhaz) nationalities will compete for the remaining 11 seats.

Why is it that the number of deputies representing the Georgian, Abkhazian, and other population groups is known beforehand? The point is that on 27 August 1991, at the meeting of the 11th session of the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council, the Law on Introducing Changes Into the Abkhazian ASSR Law on Electing Deputies to the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council was adopted, its final text elaborated and coordinated by the deputies conciliation commission with the participation of Sukhumi and Tbilisi legal experts who had worked hard over several months on these and other bills. In accordance with this law, "in view of the need to stabilize interethnic relations in the autonomous

republic prior to conducting elections to the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council of 12th convocation, it was decided, as a temporary measure, to ensure that persons of Abkhaz nationality alone be nominated as candidates in 28 electoral districts and persons of Georgian nationality alone in 26 electoral districts; in the remaining districts only persons of other nationalities may be nominated as candidates."

The adoption of this law was preceded by discussions. Some deputies stressed that the given law cannot be considered as democratic. This opinion was supported by a certain part of the Abkhazian public.

At the same time, however, deputies and representatives of a number of local political organizations pointed out that it was only a temporary measure. It is dictated by the complex sociopolitical situation.

It has already become known that 133 persons have been nominated and registered as candidates for the 26 Georgian parliamentary seats and 57 persons for the 28 Abkhazian seats; the remaining 11 seats will be contested by a total of 39 persons, including 26 Armenians, seven Russians, two Greeks, two Ukrainians, one Jew, and one Kabardinian. (This information was given to us by V. Tsugba, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission.)

The present chairman of the Abkhazian ASSR Supreme Council gave his consent to be registered as a candidate in electoral district No. 40—Duripshi electoral district of Gudauta rayon; the first deputy chairman of the Abkhazian Supreme Council, Vakhtang Kolbaya, will be a candidate in electoral district No. 35—Chuburkhindzhi electoral district of Galli rayon.

Electoral Commission Decree Suspended

AU2409093291 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 6 Aug 91 p 1

["Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Suspension of the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] of 20 July 1991"—signed in Tbilisi on 5 August]

[Text] On 20 July 1991, the Supreme Council Presidium of the Abkhaz ASSR adopted the Decree "on the Creation of a Central Electoral Commission on the Election of Deputies to the Supreme Council of the Abkhaz ASSR."

This act by the Supreme Council Presidium of the Abkhaz ASSR clearly contradicts the Republic of Georgia Constitution, existing legislation, and the Abkhaz ASSR Law itself on "Elections to the Supreme Council of the Abkhaz ASSR."

Two-thirds of the total number of members of the Central Electoral Commission are made up of representatives of the "Soyuz" block and 13 members of the commission are from Sukhumi, whereas, for no reason at all, no candidates representing the executive committees of the Gulripshi, Ochamchira, and Sukhumi rayons have been included in its composition. As a result, there has been a violation of the requirements of Article 20 of the Law on the Elections of the Abkhaz ASSR in accordance with which the Central Electoral Commission should be formed, taking into account the proposals of the executive committees of the town and rayon soviets.

As a result of the decree of the Supreme Council Presidium of the Abkhaz ASSR, the Georgian population of Abkhazia has found itself in a position in which it is being clearly discriminated against and, compared with the non-Georgian population, its electoral rights are not being protected at all. The situation of the Georgian electorate is made worse by the fact that no procedure for appealing against the decisions of the Central Electoral Commission has been provided for in Abkhaz legislation. As a result of all this, there has been a violation of the clause in Article 34 of the Republic of Georgia Constitution that establishes the principle of guaranteeing equal rights for citizens of all nationalities in the Republic of Georgia.

The holding of elections of the supreme organ of power of the Abkhaz ASSR by the Central Electoral Commission, which has been created undemocratically and in gross violation of the law, ensures from the outset the illegal nature of the elections themselves.

On the basis of paragraph 13 of Article 121 (4) of the Republic of Georgia Constitution, I **decree**:

The suspension of the Decree of the Supreme Council Presidium of the Abkhaz ASSR of 20 July 1991 "on the Creation of the Central Electoral Commission on the Election of Deputies to the Supreme Council of the Abkhaz ASSR" as it contradicts the Republic of Georgia Constitution and existing legislation.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Date] Tbilisi, 5 August 1991

Law on Procurators Appointment Suspended

AU2409103891 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 6 Aug 91 p 1

["Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Suspension of the Law of the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] of 9 July 1991 on the Introduction of Changes and Amendments to Paragraph 14 of Article 92 and to Article 156 of the Constitution of the Abkhaz ASSR"—signed in Tbilisi on 5 August]

[Text] On 9 July 1991, the Abkhaz ASSR Supreme Council adopted the Law on the Introduction of Changes and Amendments to paragraph 14 of Article 92 and to Article 156 of the Constitution of the Abkhaz ASSR in accordance with which "the Abkhaz ASSR procurator is appointed in coordination with the USSR Procurator-General and the Republic of Georgia Procurator-General by the Abkhaz ASSR Supreme Council and is

subordinate to it. In supervising the observance of the law, the Abkhaz ASSR procurator is subordinate to the USSR Procurator-General and the Procurator-General of Georgia.

The deputy procurators of the Abkhaz ASSR are appointed by the Abkhaz ASSR Supreme Council in coordination with the Procurator-General and on the recommendation of the Abkhaz ASSR procurator.

Procurators of rayons and towns in the Abkhaz ASSR are appointed by the Abkhaz ASSR procurator in coordination with the Procurator-General of Georgia."

This Abkhaz ASSR law contradicts Article 177 of the Republic of Georgia Constitution in accordance with which "procurators of autonomous republics that are a part of the Republic of Georgia are appointed by the Procurator-General of the Republic of Georgia on the recommendation of the supreme councils of the autonomous republics."

On the basis of paragraph 10 of Article 121 (4) of the Republic of Georgia Constitution, I **decree**:

1. The suspension of the Abkhaz ASSR Law of 9 July 1991 on the Introduction of Changes and Amendments to Paragraph 14 of Article 92 and to Article 156 of the Abkhaz ASSR Constitution as it contradicts the Republic of Georgia Constitution.

2. On the basis of Article 82 of the Republic of Georgia Constitution, that a proposal be made to the Abkhaz ASSR Supreme Council that it be guided by Article 177 of the Republic of Georgia Constitution when appointing the Abkhaz ASSR procurator, his deputies, and town and rayon procurators.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia

[Date] Tbilisi, 5 August 1991

Abkhaz Forum Leader Supports Opposition

OW2409175491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Zurab Achba, vice-president of the People's Forum of Abkhazia, regards the latest developments in Georgia as the struggle of pro-democracy groups against Zviad Gamsakhurdia's authoritarian rule. He made public a statement in Sukhumi saying that "having begun with a clampdown on ethnic minorities, Gamsakhurdia proceeded to suppress the entire Georgian nation."

According to Mr. Achba, the Georgian democratic opposition is regarding the nationalities problem "more pragmatically" today. If it takes over power, Abkhazia may hope to open an equitable dialogue with Georgia, he believes. "Relationships between the two republics may be settled only through negotiations. It is the sole thinkable way of overcoming alienation between the Georgians and the Abkhazes," the statement says.

The People's Forum of Abkhazia is a member of the political bloc SOYUZ uniting also the Sukhumi Association of Internationalists, the Armenian cultural society KRUNK, the Democratic Party of Abkhazia, the Russian Culture Society of Abkhazia, the People's Union ABKHAZIA, the republican Social Rights Society, and the youth association NARTAA.

Political Developments of 17 Sep Reported

PM2309141991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 91 p 1

[N. Mikeladze report: "Holdup in the Skies"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Georgiy Chanturiya has been arrested. They got him on the overnight flight from Tbilisi to Moscow. The crew's captain said he received an order to return to Tbilisi while over the Caucasus mountain range. Approximately 30 armed men in civvies were waiting for the aircraft at the airport. Chanturiya's guard had already left the airport.

G. Chanturiya; his wife Irina Sarishvili, press secretary of the National Democratic Party [NDP]; and Vakhtang Talakhadze, a member of that party, were flying out to meet the American ambassador.

N. Giorgadze, acting defense minister of the Georgian Republic, categorically denies any part in the arrest of Chanturiya and his companions. There are claims that it was he who ordered the controller to bring the aircraft back to the ground. Republic Prosecutor V. Razmadze confirmed that he did not sanction the arrest. But he stresses that the militia is entitled to detain an individual for three days without the intervention of the prosecutor's office.

Vakhtang Talakhadze was released in the morning. G. Chanturiya and I. Sarishvili were transferred to the City Administration for Internal Affairs building. The opposition—clearly unprepared for such a turn of events—spent that morning working out their plans. A picket was recruited with the intention of confronting the prosecutor and the KGB. I. Tsereteli, chairman of the Party of National Independence, which rallied alongside the NDP during those days, declared that he was armed and would not be taken alive.

Meanwhile, having isolated the fledgling platform, Gamsakhurdiya had done the opposition no serious damage whatsoever. Its main advocate is neither G. Chanturiya nor I. Tsereteli, but former Premier T. Sigua. He is kept under armed guard and is not seen in public without a reason. On Monday evening, after a grandiose joint opposition rally, Gamsakhurdiya showed distress at having trusted him "with all my heart." Speaking in the usual sharp manner, the president urged his people to set

up national defense committees in the localities and to expose mercilessly enemies of the people.

The opposition's efforts to establish themselves via television have not been successful. On Monday evening, cassettes containing recordings of speeches by three opponents of the president mysteriously disappeared. Programs on the republic's First Channel were dominated by a mundane session and a Gamsakhurdiya speech. Yesterday, there were no Georgian transmissions at all.

News on the alleged exacerbation of the situation in the region of the Georgian-Ossetian conflict is broadcast on Union television daily. Logic implies, however, that there is nobody left there to fight. One section of the Guards is defending the president, and the other is still in the city of Shavnabada. Several of Gamsakhurdiya's former comrades-in-arms have also gone there... The opposition is convinced that efforts will be made mainly in that region to provoke clashes with the Soviet Army and thus dispose of the insurgent Guards units.

Official Comments on Opposition Protests

AU2309131391 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 20 Sep 91 p 3

[Interview with presidential spokesman Gudzha Khundadze by Szerdahelyi over the telephone from Tbilisi on 19 September: "Georgian Should Not Fight Against Georgian!"]

[Text] The situation is extremely tense in Tbilisi, and various mass demonstrations are taking place there. One can hardly tell who are the followers of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's party and who are demanding his immediate resignation. We spoke with Kudza Khundadze about the situation prevailing on 19 September.

[Szerdahelyi] According to the news, an increasing number of people are joining the opposition and are protesting against dictatorial methods.

[Khundadze] Indeed, mass rallies are held in front of the parliament building almost every evening with the participation of tens of thousands of people, and several hundred people also gather in various parts of the city during the day too. The radio broadcasts forget, however, to mention the fact that the number of pro-Gamsakhurdia demonstrations are also increasing, and it often happens that one group of people cheers the legally elected president on one side of the square, while another group of people demands his resignation. According to our information, the opposition is planning the largest demonstration so far on 21 September, but its success is questionable. So far, the opposition's efforts to call the large-scale enterprises in Tbilisi out on strike have failed. Workers in these enterprises have refused to obey so far. All those who are now trying to disintegrate our country were servants of the bolshevik regime and, naturally, they are seeing the former power disintegrate now.

[Szerdahelyi] What is your opinion about dictatorial solutions?

[Khundadze] It is very strange to hear someone speaking about a Georgian dictatorship after seven decades of oppression! The dismissal of the former Soviet power is not a matter of dictatorship. However, those whom these forces have nevertheless been able to organize and bring out into the streets have made a mistake: Georgians will not fight against Georgians! The current opposition is made up of people who are trying to regain power by manipulating rumors, rather than forces that desire real democracy. Those people came up with the alleged statement of the commander of the National Guard, namely that he would not open fire on the people; instead, he would turn against President Gamsakhurdia if an order was issued to open fire. The commander in question personally denied this, but nobody published his denial. Besides, it is unimaginable that the president could give the order to fire on the masses. However, it is our obligation to defend the nation from enraged people!

[Szerdahelyi] The leaders of the opposition were not allowed to fly to Moscow. Were you afraid that they would inform the new U.S. ambassador about all the developments?

[Khundadze] The United States should not be involved in this issue! A valid legal procedure has been initiated against these "leaders" and this is the reason they could not flee the country. Those who are inciting people in an unconstitutional way should be made to account for their deeds in front of a court.

[Szerdahelyi] According to former foreign minister Shevardnadze, Georgia could become the center of a possible civil war....

[Khundadze] We are not dealing with traitors and conspirators! We must solve the national minority issue, the issue of the Abkhaz and Ossetians, in a legal way and within our own borders, even if this is now a very difficult task, after the former Soviet national minority policy. However, it is extremely dishonest to threaten and incite a civil war.

Opposition Notes Injuries in 21 Sep Clashes

OW2309192791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1615 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Georgian opposition, 3 people died and nearly 60 were injured in clashes between the Georgian leadership's followers and opponents on Saturday night. Several people are in hospital in bad condition. These figures were cited at a Moscow news conference by the Georgian Green Party leader Zurab Zhvania on Monday.

President Gamsakhurdia's press service says 64 people were injured in the clashes, but nobody was killed.

The Democratic Center faction leader David Berdzenashvili told the news conference that the September 22 talks between the opposition spokesman Tedo Paatashvili and the leadership of the Georgian Supreme Soviet had yielded zero results.

Mr. Berdzenashvili said they had not gone beyond the advancement of a government suggestion that the parliamentary opposition should pool efforts with the official authorities to take the "street opposition" under control. The Supreme Soviet had turned down the opposition demand for access to republican television and the withdrawal from Tbilisi of Mr. Gamsakhurdia's supporters who had come to the capital from various parts of the republic. The president himself declined to take part in the talks, Mr. Berdzenashvili said.

Situation in Tbilisi Reportedly 'Tension-Laden'

OW2409161791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The situation in Tbilisi is reported to have remained tension-laden.

IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent says the opposition managed during the last night to take more installations under control, seizing the Philharmonic Hall not far from the TV center with the help of loyal national guards, and getting three 100-mm guns trained at the parliament building from a pad near the city circus.

Unconfirmed reports say the opposition has also seized three district police stations and confiscated their weapons.

According to some sources, the authorities opened talks with the opposition in the residence of the Georgian Patriarch Iliah II. However, the Georgian Supreme Soviet's press service has not confirmed the report.

The National Independence Party leader Irakli Tsereteli told an opposition rally outside the TV center on Monday [23 September] night that the way to stability in Georgia lay only through President Gamsakhurdia's resignation. His view was supported by Georgia's ex-premier Tenghiz Sigua and the National Guard Commander Tenghiz Ketovani relieved of his duties by Gamsakhurdia.

A group of opposition MPs [members of parliament] made public a statement which said overcoming the crisis required a constructive dialogue with the authorities and an emergency parliamentary session.

In the meantime, President Gamsakhurdia has set up a national Security Council involving, apart from himself, the Georgian premier, the head of the Supreme Soviet, the interior minister, the defense minister, the procurator-general and other officials.

The council is expected "to safeguard Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, command the armed forces, settle ethnic conflicts, enforce law and order as required by the republic's security interests, deal with the effects of natural calamities, and tackle other urgent issues."

Georgia's Procurator-General Vakhtang Razmadze has called on the opposition to "make its choice," since the balance of forces "is clearly in favor of the lawful government."

Speaking over republican TV on Monday (the program was broadcast from the TV tower, since the office of the TV and radio department is under opposition control), Mr. Razmadze urged the national guards siding with the opposition and the volunteers blocking the TV center to lay down their arms and go home, or face legal charges.

The Cabinet of Ministers has made public a statement stressing the point that "the republican economy, crisis-stricken as it is, may find itself completely devastated as a result of the continued confrontation."

IF's Tbilisi correspondent reports that the city authorities disallowed the sale of alcohol in the Georgian capital as of Tuesday.

Cabinet of Ministers Calls For National Accord

LD2409202391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The situation in Tbilisi remains tense. Two meetings between representatives of the opposition and the leadership of Georgia have ended without result. A third meeting is planned.

The Georgian Cabinet of Ministers today put out a statement stressing that all means for finding a peaceful solution to the conflict between the legally elected authorities of the republic and radical opposition forces have not yet been exhausted. The Cabinet of Ministers called for consolidation and national accord from all the Georgian people.

A national security council has been set up under the republic's president. Zviad Gamsakhurdia was confirmed as its chairman.

Guards Arrest 4 Republican Police Officers

LD2409174691 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 24 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondents Albert Kochetkov and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tbilisi September 24 TASS—Georgian national guards arrested four gunmen in the central part of the capital Tbilisi at dawn today after a scuffle, in which the detainees used automatic weapons.

The four men turned out to be republican police officers loyal to the president, who were on a special assignment against the opposition, according to national guards commander Tenghiz Kitovani.

The men, armed with handguns, submachine-guns and grenades, were nabbed at 02:55 local time by his troops guarding the headquarters of democratic opposition forces in the building of television and radio broadcasting department.

Kitovani, who defied Gamsakhurdia's order discharging him, said the four, found in possession of bullet-proof vests and a car without a number plate, were seized in front of the nearby Adzharia Hotel.

"My men did not return fire," he told TASS. An identity check revealed the four were republican police officers.

"According to their testimony and police papers found on them, they were out looking for stolen vehicles. This is doubtful, however, as grenades are not standard police weapons and a search failed to produce any list with the details of 's.olen' cars," Kitovani said.

He said he believes the four were on a special assignment authorising them to stage provocations in the democratic opposition headquarters.

Posing as volunteers helping the guards protect the building, the police officers had even been able to get inside the building: Eye witnesses saw them drinking coffee there, according to Kitovani.

He confirmed police had earlier detained three national guards, but flatly rejected the possibility of a prisoner exchange. Such a swap, Kitovani explained, can create a dangerous and unpredictable precedent of hostage-taking, which will further exacerbate the situation in the capital.

"We have everything a normal army has, including the military prosecutor, intelligence and counter-intelligence," he said. "They will investigate the incident, after which the detainees will be released."

Injuries Reported as Tskhinvali Comes Under Fire

LD2409125391 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Tskhinvali September 24 TASS—A number of people were injured last night when the city of Tskhinvali once again came under fire, including rockets, the South Ossetian Information Committee reports.

The barrage came from the Georgian villages of Nikozi, Tamarasheni and Gruzinskoye Prisi respectively south, north and east of the city, leaving substantial damage and destruction in residential areas.

Cabinet Says Conflict Resolution Still Possible

LD2509022991 Moscow TASS in English 0202 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Tbilisi September 24 TASS—There still are ways to resolve the conflict between the legally elected Georgian leadership and radical opposition forces peacefully, reads a statement by the Georgian cabinet issued today, according to the SAKINFORM news agency.

The authorities have already made constructive steps. They allowed illegal armed formations to join government structures. They are trying to establish contacts with various oppositional groups and find a peaceful solution of the conflict through dialogue, the statement reads.

The republican leadership again calls on all forces involved in the putsch to change their strategy and use legal peaceful ways of struggling for their interests, the statement reads.

Until military confrontation continues, there is a risk that carelessness or provocation by some individuals could push the events in the fatal direction. If this happens, trespassers of the law will bear all responsibility, the statement reads.

The cabinet called for consolidation of all the Georgian people and for national accord for the sake of reaching full state independence, building a civilised democratic society and winning recognition of Georgia's independence by the world.

Opposition Attempts To Cut Tbilisi Electricity

LD2509101691 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] According to reports from Georgia, there were clashes last night in Tbilisi between supporters and opponents of President Gamsakhurdia. Four people were killed. According to a report from the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs, this occurred when a group of guards supporting the opposition attacked the building of the Tbilisi Electricity Network Directorate intent on switching off the city's electricity. According to this information, one guardsman and three militiamen guarding the building were killed.

So, it looks as though the conflict between the opposition and forces loyal to the president is developing into open confrontation. During the night, a group of people stopped vehicles driving past the Adzharia Hotel and fired shots into the air. Automatic gunfire could also be heard coming from the direction of the Tbilisi Circus. A state of emergency was introduced in Tbilisi today.

Armenia

Report on Independence Issues, Referendum Results

Daily Views Independence Issues

PM2509131791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 91 p 2

[B. Aloyan report: "The Question Which Even Armenian Radio Cannot Answer—Run-Up to Republic Referendum"]

[Text] Citizens of the Armenian Republic will have to decide 21 September whether or not they want to create an independent state outside the Union. Later there will be elections for Armenia's first president. These two events in the history of the Armenian people are interlinked.

Of course, there is no people on earth which does not dream of independence and statehood. Armenians are no exception. But Armenia is special. On the one hand, it is the most multinational republic so the referendum question is somewhat rhetorical today, especially in the wake of the August putsch.

On the other hand, due account must be taken of Armenia's geopolitical situation—more precisely, its position as Turkey's neighbor, and such "trivialities" as the lack of access to the sea. Furthermore, where railways are concerned this is literally the end of the line.

Unlike certain other peoples, the Armenians became part of Russia quite voluntarily two centuries ago. Many generations here were raised in the spirit of orientation toward their great Christian neighbor, and the belief that Armenia has a permanent enemy to the south and a permanent ally to the north has been passed on from father to son. When the Karabakh movement began some three and a half years ago, there was no talk of Armenian independence. Slogans such as "Lenin, Party, Gorbachev" could be seen at rallies alongside banners proclaiming "Long Live Leninis Nationalities Policy." The slogans altered as the Karabakh question entered an impasse. At the end of 1988, local party newspapers published an anonymous article called "The People Will Not Follow Them" (referring to the "Karabakh" committee) which was later reprinted in PRAVDA. However, the people did follow them, the democratic forces assumed power, and before long they had instituted the basis of a new domestic and foreign policy for the republic.

...Were the new authorities to raise the question of recognizing the 1915 genocides and the territorial claims enshrined in the Treaty of Sevres, then in the very near future there could be an explosion of tension so huge that the Arab-Israeli conflict would look like a lover's tiff by comparison.

Let me remind you that under the Treaty of Sevres, which was signed in 1920 by the victor-states of World War I and the Ottoman Turks, Armenian territory totalled 150,000 square km. Now it has 29,800 square km. The question of recognizing the genocide of 1.5 million Armenians in the Ottoman Empire has never been raised in the Soviet Union, whereas in the West it never leaves the agenda. Many people have recognized the genocide. But the "Armenian question" is played mainly as a card in a political game involving the big states.

For example, a few years ago Turkey appealed to the European Parliament with a request to join the EEC. Among other things, a condition was stipulated that Turkey admit to genocide. Europe knew upon setting this condition that Turkey would not agree. The question is raised in the U.S. Congress practically every year, and each time Turkey expresses "confusion and surprise" on this score, and each time there are insufficient votes to win recognition. That is what big politics are like...

When L. Ter-Petrosyan came to power he declared that it is absurd to think about redrawing borders now—at the end of the 20th century—and that above all there is a need to attain good-neighborly relations with all contiguous states. As for recognizing the genocide at international level, Ter-Petrosyan believes that this is a problem for academics, journalists, and public organizations. Such a peaceful stance reassured many, so it is no wonder that Ter-Petrosyan is getting a unanimous "good press" in the West.

I do not know whether Karabakh can be classed as foreign or domestic policy. On the one hand, according to an Armenian Supreme Soviet decision, the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] was reunited with Armenia and is considered an integral part of that republic. On the other hand, this decision has remained on paper only, which, moreover, was what the deputies wanted as they saw this act as primarily a show of moral support for the warriors in Karabakh.

I will note that despite the belief which has spread outside Armenia that this document was the work of Ter-Petrosyan—who at that time was still unrecognized officially—this in fact is contrary to the truth. As an eyewitness I can testify that that day, in the building where the Supreme Soviet was in session—which was surrounded by hundreds of thousands of people—two individuals actively opposed the adoption of this decision: They were the former and the present chairmen of the Supreme Soviet. L. Ter-Petrosyan approached the microphone four times and assured us that the world community would not accept this decision, and that the link between the NKAO and Armenia must be realized via a bilateral treaty... However, nobody listened to him.

Upon coming to power, the leadership of the Armenian Liberation Movement [AOD] sought a compromise on the Karabakh question: to restore Soviet authority in Karabakh along with the oblast's original status. However, talks between the two republics never even began. In Armenia it is believed that the center is the chief

culprit in this, having installed a communist regime in the neighboring Transcaucasian republic at knifepoint. Gambling on force is delaying talks and leading to further bitterness.

When spring came and the Army went into active service, voices were heard in Armenia declaring that those leaders who had come to power on the "Karabakh wave" had betrayed Karabakh. The conviction strengthened that brute force must be opposed by force. Republic authorities were called upon to make efforts to allay passions.

As a last resort, 60 deputies signed a statement demanding that the Karabakh people's struggle be recognized as a national liberation movement, and during a closed parliament session Ter-Petrosyan threatened to resign if the decision was adopted.

The situation within the republic is clearer. First, the neutralization of independent armed formations can be credited to the new authorities. Land reform has been carried out, and land distributed among the peasants. There is now as much freedom of speech as you want, and today not a single activist is immune from public criticism in Armenia, except for Catholicos Vazgen Perviy.

Incidentally, the government itself acknowledged that it made many mistakes this year, of which I will note just two: nonparticipation in drafting the Union treaty, and miscalculations in cadres policy.

No sooner had it been officially announced that Armenia will not participate in drafting the Union Treaty than the opposition stepped into motion. Particularly vicious criticism was leveled at the leadership by the Communists and the Dashnaks, whom it is hard to suspect of being united. The arguments are simple: Nonparticipation in drafting the Union Treaty in this complex period strikes against the republic both militarily and economically.

As for cadres errors... These can be explained by the usual postrevolution situation when, having risen to power, politicians install "their own men" everywhere—including in the economic sphere and in trade. The empty store shelves, exorbitant prices, and dried-up faucets in apartments—all this is piling up on top of the new leadership's incompetence.

"We have been criticized from left and right, above and below," Albert Bagdasaryan, member of the AOD Board and deputy chairman of the Yerevan City Soviet, said recently. "Such is the lot of the victor."

But it is one thing to know, another to withstand.

You cannot say that the AOD Board itself was unconcerned about the complex situation. Since last month, it has subjected Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan's cadres policy to severe criticism. It is well known that prime ministers always take the brunt of such criticism. You just have to look at the resignations of Druk, Prunskiene, and Sigua. But Manukyan, having recognized his errors, also noted that he had only appointed ministers, whereas the lower ranking leaders, who associate directly with the people and provoke dissatisfaction, were appointed by local soviet leaders. After that, he organized the National Democratic Union and was put forward as a presidential candidate.

About the candidates. There are already over 10 and the nominations have not closed. I predict that Levon Ter-Petrosyan will be Armenia's first president. Admittedly, considering the number of contenders, there will probably require two rounds.

Of course, during the referendum the people will vote to secede from the USSR especially as the Union in the old sense no longer exists. If a new state is created instead of the old Union—a confederation of truly sovereign states, like the EEC—then Armenia will join the confederation. If this does not happen and the country collapses, then slowly the republic will embark on the road to full independence. Moreover, the "Lithuanian option"—achieving independence in one fell swoop instead of in 100 steps—is not suitable for Armenia. Whereas after one successful leap the Baltic Republics are in the midst of friendly Scandinavian countries, Armenia's road to independence will resemble a narrow mountain path where one is obliged to check that the stone will not give way underfoot before taking the next step.

Final Referendum Results Issued

LD2309225791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2200 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Sep—The Central Commission for the Conduct of the Republic of Armenia Referendum has summed up the final results of last Saturday's plebiscite on the republic's independence.

At today's final meeting, the Commission stated that 2,056,758 persons out of the 2,163,967 eligible citizens took part in the referendum, that is 95.05

. A total of 2,042,627 people, that is 94.39

, voted for Armenia's independence; 10,002 citizens entitled to take part in the referendum, that is 0.46

, voted "against". Four thousand one hundred and twenty nine ballot papers were held to be spoiled.

One hundred and seventeen observers from 25 countries came to the referendum in Armenia. The Commission reported that no complaints regarding violations of the law were received from them.

Supreme Soviet Decrees 21 Sep Independence Day

OW2409190691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1530 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliament of Armenia has decreed September 21 Independence Day.

On that day this year a republic-wide referendum in Armenia revealed that 94.37 of the republic's citizens having the right to vote wanted Armenia to be an independent democratic state outside the USSR. Two days later the Supreme Soviet officially proclaimed Armenia's independence.

People's Deputy Sends Congratulations

NC2309163591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] USSR People's Deputy Galina Starovoytova has sent a cable congratulating Armenia on its independence referendum. The cable says: My dear friends and citizens of the free republic of Armenia, I congratulate you on your independence day. I already foresee the best of futures for ancient Armenia and the suffering people of Nagorno-Karabakh. It really is not possible for me to be with you on this historic day of freedom, because the (?economic catastrophe) existing in the former Soviet Union has prevented airplanes from flying to Yerevan for the last few days. I hope to meet you as soon as possible. I assure you that, even beyond my duties as the people's deputy, I will always defend the interests of the Armenian people, which bestowed on me a great honor and trust two years ago. Yours, Galina Starovoytova.

Ter-Petrosyan Assesses Yerevan Talks

LD2309214791 Moscow TASS in English 2115 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan September 23 TASS—"Talks in Yerevan with the presidents of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan were held in an exceptionally serious and effective atmosphere. The positions of the leaders of the three republics have much in common, which inspires hope that the talks will have a positive result," Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan said during his appearance on republic television today.

In referring to talks on the lasting conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, a mostly Armenian enclave in neighbouring Azerbaijan, Ter-Petrosyan noted he regarded the mission of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev as a "major step towards taking the Karabakh issue out of the impasse".

As regards today's meeting in Zheleznovodsk, Ter-Petrosyan stressed the participation in talks of a representative of Nagorno-Karabakh as "an independent subject".

Talks began a long time ago, but because Karabakh was not represented as an independent party, they could yield no positive results, Ter-Petrosyan said.

He also suggested that a document will be adopted as a result of the meeting in Zheleznovodsk, which will "lay down the first stone in the solution of the Karabakh problem."

Briefs Supreme Soviet

NC2409205591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Report by Gevorg Nazaryan from the Armenian Supreme Soviet session on 24 September in Yerevan—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Nazaryan] The Supreme Soviet of independent Armenia opened its first session today. Chairperson Gagik Arutyunyan told the session that hereafter teamwork and mutual understanding should prevail in the parliamentary deliberations. The deputies observed a minute of silence in memory of those who sacrificed their lives for independence. [passage omitted]

The podium was then passed to Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan who returned from Zheleznovodsk late at night accompanied by the prime minister and a group of (?deputies).

[Ter-Petrosyan] Dear friends, first of all I want to congratulate all of us for yesterday's significant event; that is, the proclamation of independence. [passage omitted] The first decisive and necessary step has been taken, but, we realize that independence is not merely a declaration. We need to strengthen it with action the sole guarantee for which is again the unity of our people, parties and parliament. [passage omitted]

As you know, parallel to this important developments—the referendum and our independence—the Armenian leadership has also been working on another front for the last three or four days: the Nagorno-Karabakh front. The presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan Yeltsin and Nazarbayev paid a visit to the Transcaucasia and (?passed through) Baku, Gendzhe, Stepanakert and Yerevan. Immediately following this visit, we had the meeting in Zheleznovodsk.

What was the aim of the visit? It was obvious to us all that the Nagorno-Karabkh problem had reached an impasse. [words indistinct] We all felt the need for movement on this issue. The protraction of this problem and a lack of movement would have been disadvantageous for us and for the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh. We all realized that the previous political actions are effectively bankrupt in the sense that these actions were going nowhere. It was no longer possible to pin hopes on the center and Gorbachev because the center was not a neutral bystander, as evinced by the April-July incidents. It was necessary to [words indistinct] search for a new way, the way for a neutral third-party mediator. Fortunately, Yeltsin endorsed our proposal to act as a mediator with the Kazakhstan president (?two) months ago. [passage omitted]

The crux of the problem was that Azerbaijan was doing everything to prevent any positive movement on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem; we had to do everything. This is how the sides approach the problem. Any positive change would have made it possible to guarantee the future security of the Nagorno-Karabakh population and the normal functioning of the oblast as an administrative-economic unit. Both of these questions were in dangered; there is no security for the population, and the possibility for the normal functioning of the oblast as an administrative-economic unit was null. Without this it is impossible to keep the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh on their native land. This situation must be corrected. We realized that the essential, though insufficient, condition to achieve this was the restoration of the oblast organs of power. [passage omitted] Our aim was to ensure the following two points: to obtain guarantees for the security and the normal functioning of the oblast [words indistinct].

As a result of this visit and negotiations an compromise document has been worked out; it is not possible to claim that it fully corresponds to reality. The sides tried to present the maximum possible demands to the mediators. A document was thus created which is quite acceptable to us [words indistinct]. During the last meeting, the two delegations waged a serious battle. Both sides tried to bring the contents of the document closer to their interests. On our side Vazgen Manukyan, Ashot Manucharyan, Gagik Vardanyan, and I took part in the talks. I am not going to name other side's delegates. The representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh were also taking part, but not as an authorized side but as observers. This was due to the fact that Azerbaijan was trying in every manner possible to disregard the fact that Nagorno-Karabakh is an autonomous administrative-economic unit. They tried to present Nagorno-Karabakh as some sort of a territory composed of Armenian and Azerbaijani communities. This was their whole inclination. Of course, we fought as much as possible to dispel such an impression. In fact, the document does not confirm the existence of these communities. However, we could not manage to insert into the document Nagorno-Karabakh's present—though as regards the future the document envisages and mentions that Nagorno-Karabakh is an administrative-economic unit—status. We waged a long struggle for this but could not achieve it.

Nevertheless, the sides' tactics were obvious, and following this fierce battle a document was created which I would say fails to satisfy wither side. Both sides were dissatisfied and [word indistinct]. The Azerbaijanis were very adamant, they put up strong resistance and fought for each word. But, they could not defend all their positions. We also failed to attain those positions to which we had aspired. (?This) document cannot fully satisfy the antagonistic sides at present, but I think that the small movement we were expecting has taken place.

The document will be published. I can even now give out a copy so it can be copied so that you all can have it before its publication in the papers. Though some might not agree with me, if we compare this document with the reality I consider it movement, albeit small movement forward. My confidence does not so much emanate from the document as from the stature of the mediators. Both Yeltsin and Nazarbayev have assumed a heavy responsibility. (?Apparently) they had trouble picturing the dimensions of this problem, and now it might even endanger their political careers. They ever expressed this fear. [words indistinct] Yeltsin and Nazarbayev should do all they can so that the outside world can see that something has changed in Nagorno-Karabakh, some sort of a [word indistinct] movement has taken place. The most important point at this moment is to transform this document from paper into action.

About the essence of the document: Its first characteristic is that it is almost devoid of strength. This was mostly due to the efforts of the Azerbaijanis. They tried to generalize every issue, and wanted concrete points only in their favor. We also tried to do the same. I do not know if you understood this, you will (?understand it) when you read the document.

The first point is to outline a framework of measures required for the final solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. The Azerbaijanis wanted to [words indistinct] condition the implementation of one issue on another. They did this to be obstinate; for example, they demanded that disarmament should preceded the restoration of the oblast soviet. This is impracticable. At the last hour our delegation fought against this so that in the future our opponent would not have the opportunity to argue that something is impossible because the opposite side had not fulfilled a certain condition. [passage omitted]

[Nazaryan] After Ter-Petrosyan's speech the parliament adopted its agenda. It also declared 21 September a national holiday, a non-working day and adopted a decision to join the document endorsed by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. [passage omitted] The session will resume work tomorrow at 1100.

Cites Drawbacks of Communique

OW2409160691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Ter-Petrosyan has spoken highly of the Zheleznovodsk communique, although he did say the document had a number of drawbacks.

Addressing parliament on Tuesday [24 September] morning, he said the communique "fails to meet either Azerbaijani or Armenian demands in full," but then "it would be unrealistic to expect all the demands to be implemented." Mr. Ter-Petrosyan blamed the "insufficiently concrete nature" of the final document on the efforts taken by Azerbaijan. At the same time, he

acknowledged that the communique was "a large stride towards regional stability." Its specific provisions, he added, could be amended in the future, if need be.

The Armenian leader said the Armenian-Azerbaijani talks on Nagorno-Karabakh had become possible only due to Russia and Kazakhstan's mediation.

Azerbaijan Said To 'Torture' Detained Armenians

PM2409082591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Unattributed report from PRAVDA, TASS, RIA, INTERFAX roundup]

[Text] Armenians held in Azerbaijani jails are being tortured. This was stated in a report disseminated in Yerevan by the "Dashnaktsutyun" Party's information center. The center bases its claims on the testimony of Zorik Arutyunyan, a 57-year-old resident of Karintan village in Nagorno-Karabakh. He was recently released from jail in the town of Shusha. According to him, Armenians held in that jail have been subjected to electric-shock torture. There have also been instances of people's nails being pulled out.

Azerbaijan

Popular Front Meets, Discusses Recent Events

NC2409101491 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Text] A meeting has been organized by the Azerbaijan Popular Front in Azerturk Square. People's Deputy Sadykh Rustamkhanly opened the meeting and read a report on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and in Geranboyskiy Rayon. (?Afife Daliyev), leader of the Azerbaijan Popular Front [title as heard], outlined her views on expanding the republic's democratic movement. Meanwhile, Iskandar Khalilov, one of the active leaders of the Azerbaijan Popular Front, told the meeting that the building which had housed the 26 Commissars District Party Committee now has been transferred to the Azerbaijan Popular Front. He also said that the front has been allocated a place in the republic's television network.

Mamedov, [title indistinct], and Temurlan Karayev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, also addressed the meeting.

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Reportage on Yeltsin-Nazarbayev Mediation Efforts

IZVESTIYA Assesses Progress

PM2409134391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1,2

[N. Andreyev, S. Bablumyan, V. Samedov, and V. Oliyanchuk report: "In Zheleznovodsk—Concerning Karabakh: Azerbaijan, Armenian, and Nagorno-Karabakh Leaders Join Yeltsin Around Negotiating Table"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It should be noted that great hopes are pinned on [Russian President] B. Yeltsin and [Kazakh President] N. Nazarbayev's arrival in Baku, although the opinion that this mission is nothing more than interference in the domestic affairs of Azerbaijan—a sovereign and independent republic—is also being expressed. I. Gambarov, chairman of the [Azerbaijan] People's Front Executive Committee, formulated just such a view: Russia and Kazakhstan have enough problems of their own, including interethnic problems, yet their presidents presume to give us advice. When asked how—if at all—the presidents' visit could be useful, Gambarov replied briefly: "In one respect only: If they can persuade [Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman] Ter-Petrosyan to abrogate all illegal acts adopted by the Armenian Supreme Soviet in respect of Nagorno-Karabakh."

The question of the presence of Soviet troops in Azerbaijan crops up constantly. On this score, Yeltsin stated: "Everything depends on the will of the two republic's peoples. We are ready to withdraw troops in the space of, say, one week. At present, there are 2,500 soldiers on the Azerbaijan-Armenia border. They are not conducting combat operations but are merely separating the hostile sides. This problem concerns us because Russian guys are suffering and I am answerable for them. As Russian president I have a direct interest in preventing a state of war here." However, different statistics are quoted in Baku: 60,000 Azerbaijanis serve in the Army outside the republic's borders, and it is still uncertain whether it would be cheaper for Azerbaijan to transfer its massive resources to the Soviet Army or to maintain its own army. Given that Armenia also intends to set up its own armed forces, it is possible to predict how all this will end.

Participants in the talks are unanimous in the view that [USSR President] M. Gorbachev should not interfere in the situation. It is known that a USSR presidential decree is under preparation which will endeavor once again to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. According to Nazarbayev, "There is no need for this inasmuch as the two independent republics must reach agreement for themselves."

The words "reach agreement," "mutual understanding," and "meet each other halfway" are those most frequently repeated here. However, having come to Nagorno-Karabakh, Yeltsin and Nazarbayev have seen just how difficult it is to reach agreement. The building belonging to the oblast soviet (now disbanded) was surrounded by internal troops, OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] personnel, and paratroopers. Plus around 1,000 inhabitants from Stepanakert proclaiming "Freedom," "Russia," and "Yeltsin," and an abundance of Russian, Kazakh, and Armenian flags. An Armenian flag had been raised over the oblast soviet building, prompting the following incident: [Azerbaijani President] A. Mutalibov refused to enter the building, and this clearly irritated Yeltsin. The result was that the Russian and Kazakh presidents entered the oblast soviet

building, but Mutalibov headed for the Special Administration Committee building, over which the Union and Azerbaijani flags were flying.

Numerous representatives of the press are covering the meeting. Life is difficult for journalists in Stepanakert: Elkhan Aliyev, a photo-journalist from Azerbaijan, and Emaz Polad, correspondent for a Turkish newspaper, have been beaten up.

Nagorno-Karabakh spokesman A. Manucharov proposed these alternate solutions: either to enter the Union with free republic status, or to join Russia.

Yeltsin delivered a speech in Stepanakert. He said that he and Nazarbayev understand what they are getting into and they understand that in this way they are putting their political prestige on the line. The main aim is to halt the bloodshed. The main task is to begin talks. Talks will begin in Mineralnyye Vody. He offered to mediate to solve the problem of the blockade. He declared that the mass media are pursuing the unseemly tactic of bringing the peoples into conflict. It can be surmised from his words that a special kind of censor will be set up in Moscow to vet reports and materials on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

Nazarbayev spoke after Yeltsin. He said that nobody in the Union will be happy if there is bloodshed anywhere. He appealed to the people of Stepanakert: Understand us correctly. We are not the 'center,' we represent free republics too. We are mediators and nothing more. So far we are merely listening, then we will sit around the negotiating table and try to find a compromise. We are neutral.

Yeltsin and Nazarbayev arrived in Yerevan 22 September. Work continued at an equally fast pace. At first it was expected that the Yerevan round of talks would be completed and that the aircraft would set course for Mineralnyye Vody that same day. However, the program was amended and the flight to Zheleznovodsk did not take place until the morning of 23 September.

So what did the Yerevan meeting add to the progress hitherto secured by the talks? The Russian president pointed out that the coincidence of the sides' positions was noted on a number of questions. Hence the optimism over the possibility of signing a communique and initiating a negotiating process between Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno-Karabakh with the mediation of Russia and Kazakhstan.

Nazarbayev told the journalists: "If I, Boris Nikolayevich, and the leaders of the two republics and Nagorno-Karabakh manage to lay the foundations for the negotiation process, we, the mediators, will see this as a major achievement."

Yeltsin-Nazarbayev Talks Detailed

LD2409134991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1104 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Boris Yeltsin's and Nursultan Nazarbayev's good-will mission to Zheleznovodsk lasted 72 hours. Thirteen and a half hours were needed for the ten basic points in the final document to be accepted. Boris Yeltsin said at a short news conference:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] We are grateful to all those who took part in this negotiating process, for their great (?efforts), for their understanding, for the fact that on some occasions compromises needed to be made. But nevertheless, there is already an opportunity now for progress and for a settlement of the conflict, the end of the war virtually, and the end of bloodshed. We hope, we have confidence, that the communique will be strictly carried out, what we agreed on and signed. And the negotiations process will begin between the two delegations in the presence of observers from Russia and Kazakhstan. Moreover, talks will be held on a permanent basis. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The working group which Boris Yeltsin mentioned will begin its activities on 1 October. First of all it will be concerned with the return of the deported population. The sides guarantee its safety in the permanent residential areas. The Russian president also said about his trip to Stepanakert:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] People tried to convince, to persuade us not to go to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], to Stepanakert, that we would be killed or something else. It should be said that, on the contrary, the people welcomed us in Stepanakert. [end recording]

[Correspondent] During the visit to Stepanakert an unpleasant incident occurred. An Azerbaijani journalist was kidnapped and a Turkish colleague of his was beaten up. All of this says something about the tension which has taken shape in the NKAO. Nursultan Nazarbayev, speaking about the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh noted:

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] Boris Nikolayevich and I have taken a great responsibility on ourselves—not only before these peoples but also before our own people and before the inhabitants of the whole country. And we understand what we have gotten into and have invested the full extent of our authority in this difficult process. I would like to hope very much that our work carried out here will in some way influence the whole country and the feelings and relations of the whole multiethnic people of our country. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The clauses contained in the current communique cannot help but be seen as the rights of mediators to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states. Ayaz Mutalibov, the head of Azerbaijan, spoke about this at the news conference.

[Begin Mutalibov recording] The atmosphere and spirit of the meeting and conversations were exceptionally positive in relation to the sovereignty of the republics. It was constantly stressed that this was a good-will mission, that such values as sovereignty, neutral integrity, noninterference in one another's affairs are the law in interstate relations. And this gives us grounds for being confident that the processes set out in the communique will find, at long last, real form. [end recording]

[Correspondent] During the course of the discussions the sides came to a unanimous opinion on the need to guarantee the objectivity of news coming from the conflict zone. It was decided to form a news group comprised of representatives of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan entrusted with preparing official news on events in the zone of the conflict which, according to Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the chairman of the Armenian parliament, is far from ended.

[Begin Ter-Petrosyan recording] It cannot be said that we have resolved the Karabakh problem today. This is just the first step, that is the first, careful step in the resolution of this very complex problem. The communique is the result of serious work. The document is a compromise. This means that there is not complete mutual understanding between the sides on all issues. This needs to be stressed in order to conceive of the fact that serious work still lies ahead in the future. I am sure that this document will at last move the Karabakh problem out of its impasse, from its standstill. [end recording]

[Correspondent] And it is important to help the goodwill mission in this.

Mediation Efforts Continue

AU2309084091 Paris AFP in English 0816 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Moscow, Sep 23 (AFP)—The leaders of Russia and Kazakhstan met Monday with the leaders of Armenia, Azerbaijan and the strife-torn enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh in an effort to broker an end to ethnic fighting in the territory, Russian officials said.

A spokesman for Russian President Boris Yeltsin said the talks, taking place in the southern Russian city of Zheleznovodsk, had begun but could give no further details on progress.

The spokesman said Yeltsin was due to return to Moscow later on Monday.

The negotiations come after Yeltsin, accompanied by Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev, met leaders in Azerbaijan, Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia in an effort to lay preliminary groundwork for Monday's meeting. Monday's talks were being attended by Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov and Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan, as well as leaders from Nagorno-Karabakh, the official TASS news agency reported. [passage omitted]

'Speedy Results' Unlikely

PM2309115991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Nagorno-Karabakh: Yeltsin and Nazarbayev Peace Mission"]

[Text] As has already been reported, the Russian and Kazakh presidents are in Azerbaijan on a peace mission linked with the Nagorno-Karabakh situation. At 0830 Moscow time on 22 September Boris Yeltsin, Nursultan Nazarbayev, and Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov arrived in Stepanakert from Gyandzha aboard military helicopters.

At the airport, which was decked with the Russian and Kazakh flags, the republic presidents were met by the leaders of Nagorno-Karabakh, the commandant of the state of emergency region, and other officials. For understandable reasons an increased guard was posted at the airport. The road into the city from the airport was also guarded by soldiers. The main city square, where Stepanakert's mainly Armenian population had assembled for a meeting, was cordoned off by militia pickets. The rally went ahead but there were no excesses.

"Boris, you are the hope of Nagorno-Karabakh," was a slogan written on many homemade banners held aloft by the people filling Shaumyan Square in the very center of Stepanakert. They kept on chanting "Russia, Russia!"

"We've come with just one wish," Boris Yeltsin said during the meeting on the square. "We want to do everything to stop the bloodshed and ensure that people can finally live and work peacefully. It's time to tell those who want to continue the conflict that enough is enough!"

The Armenian side did not turn up at the former oblast party committee building, where it had planned to hold a meeting with Nagorno-Karabakh representatives. A suggestion was made to meet with the rally participants in the square, but then word came through that the Armenian representatives were awaiting the Russian and Kazakh leaders in the former oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] building. People here have special attitudes toward flags, and therefore Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov refused to go to the oblispolkom, where the Armenian flag was flying. Nonetheless, the Russian and Kazakh presidents decided to listen to the views of those there.

As this report was being filed, the conciliation meeting between the warring factions was beginning. Despite the flag war, both Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev are looking for ways out of the protracted conflict without succumbing to the immediate emotions which have accompanied their trip every step of the way.

We have learned from the close entourage of Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev that the mediators seeking a settlement to the conflict intend to fly to Yerevan. They are then expected in Mineralnyye Vody.

This neutral territory will play host to the final stage of the preliminary talks, where the presidents of the two Transcaucasus republics, Russia, and Kazakhstan and representatives of Nagorno-Karabakh's Armenian and Azerbaijani communities will hold a "roundtable."

We should add to our correspondent S. Matayev's report that, apart from special links, there is no telephone communication in Stepanakert. Therefore, given the importance of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, IZVESTIYA was helped in filing this report by representatives of the Stepanakert Military Commandant's Office.

Now to what happened the previous day in Tbilisi. TASS correspondents were informed by USSR People's Deputy Tofik Ismailov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and one of the participants in the three presidents' meeting, that the discussions between the leaders of the sovereign republics had been constructive. Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov's proposal on ways to normalize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and measures likely to restore good-neighborly relations between the autonomous oblast's Azerbaijani and Armenian communities was received with understanding.

According to other sources close to the three presidents' entourage, during the examination of this complex problem particular attention was devoted to creating the conditions for initiating a constructive dialogue between the warring factions.

In Baku the leaders of Russia and Kazakhstan had meetings with representatives of the creative intelligentsia and the republic's public, who came to discussions with them directly from a rally organized at the former Central Committee building. There was also a meeting with the leaders of the People's Front of Azerbaijan and the "Sodruzhestvo" [community] Society.

What do the Russian and Kazakh presidents expect to come out of this trip? "It would be naive to expect any speedy results from this trip," Nazarbayev told journalists. "After all, reconciliation is a complex and protracted process, and this reality needs to be recognized. Mediators are people in the middle who help the opposing sides to meet and reach agreement."

"The meetings with the Azerbaijani and Armenian leaders, the intelligentsia, religious figures, and workers in the two republics will allow us to assess the situation properly and make our contribution to solving this difficult problem," Yeltsin believes. "I am convinced that the road to peace lies through constructive dialogue and a search for solutions mutually acceptable to both sides. Our task is to prepare the ground for this."

Mutalibov's opinion is: "We hope that we will jointly succeed in elaborating measures which will make it possible to halt the protracted confrontation between the two peoples and and bring peace to Azerbaijan's long-suffering land. I am convinced that the abandonment of territorial claims together with a constructive dialogue with all interested parties will allow this difficult problem to be solved."

Experts with the independent "Opinion" service carried out a sociological poll on the eve of the two republic leaders' departure for Nagorno-Karabakh. Almost 47 percent of Russians polled by the sociologists consider UN involvement in settling the Nagorno-Karabakh confrontation unnecessary. At the same time, 52.5 percent of the Russians polled believe that Union military units should be withdrawn from the Transcaucasus. Some 23 percent are firmly against any withdrawal of Soviet Army subunits, while 20 percent were "don't knows."

The "Opinion" service also asked who was in the right in the conflict and whose position produced more sympathy among those polled—the position of the Azerbaijani or the Armenian side? Neither—that was the answer of more than 46 percent of citizens. On the other hand, more than 19 percent have sympathy for both positions. The Azerbaijani side's position is clearly supported by 5.1 percent, while sympathy for the Armenian side was expressed by 9.5 percent. The number of "don't knows" was high at 19.6 percent.

Stop Press

IZVESTIYA correspondent S. Bablumyan reports that the Russian and Kazakh presidents arrived in Yerevan at 1440 on 22 September.

Azerbaijan, Armenia Sign Settlement Accord

OW2409114891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Zheleznovodsk, Stavropol region, late on Monday night, following 13 hours of heated debates, the Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov, the Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan, and a delegation from Nagorno-Karabakh (Russian acronym: NKAO) signed, with the mediation of the Russian and Kazakh presidents Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev, a joint communique on a settlement in Nagorno-Karabakh. Under the document, the NKAO's legal status has to be restored in its pre-1989 form, the region's lawful government bodies (district Soviets in the first place) have to be gradually reestablished, and hostilities stopped. Russia and Kazakhstan will perform as guarantors of compliance with the agreement, L. Ter-Petrosyan said.

B. Yeltsin told a news conference that immediately followed the communique's signing that the final document, essentially a compromise, opened up good prospects for settling the crisis in Karabakh. "Hopefully, the belligerents will get down to talks at long last," Yeltsin said, and added that the talks would be held in the presence of observers from Russia and Kazakhstan. A special Russo-Kazakh press group would be set up "by

no means to perform as censors but to truthfully cover the developments along the Armenian- Azerbaijani border" and, if need be, refute misinformation that might further aggravate the difficult situation in the region.

B. Yeltsin and N. Nazarbayev expressed the hope that the leaders of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno-Karabakh would do their best to translate the communique into a reality.

A. Mutalibov and L. Ter-Petrosyan praised Yeltsin and Nazarbayev for the major role they had played in facilitating the agreement. The NKAO spokesman Samson Voskanyan observed that without Russo-Kazakh mediation "the three parties involved in the conflict could hardly have met in the foreseeable future."

The Armenian leader said that the communique was not acceptable in all of its aspects and that it marked only "a first step towards a settlement." Nevertheless, he described it as "an essentially new document signed by truly neutral parties, no by the center as it used to be in the past.

As IF's [INTERFAX] Moscow correspondent has learnt from a ranking Defense Ministry officer, Marshal Shaposhnikov warned the Armenian and Azerbaijani leaders in Zheleznovodsk that the troops stationed in Nagorno-Karabakh would be withdrawn from the region as of January 1, unless "real steps are made to end the armed confrontation in the NKAO." The officer observed that this warning must have encouraged the negotiating parties to intensify their work for agreement.

Further on Peace Agreement

LD2409111691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov, Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan, and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] delegation, through the mediation of the Russian and Kazakh presidents, last night in Zheleznovodsk signed a joint communique concluding talks which lasted 13 and one-half hours. The document calls for a return to the legal situation prevailing in the NKAO before 1989, and the gradual restoration of the former bodies of power. As some participants of the talks explained to an INTERFAX correspondent, executive committees will be restored first. An accord has also been reached to end combat operations.

There are so many problems which have accumulated over the past four years that it has been impossible to discuss them impassionately, Boris Yeltsin told a news conference immediately after the signing of the communique. He stressed that the document offers an opportunity to follow the path to a settlement of the crisis despite the fact that it is of a compromise nature. We hope, Boris Yeltsin said, that at last a negotiating process between the sides will start . According to him this process will proceed in the presence of observers from Russia and Kazakhstan.

Boris Yeltsin particularly stressed that a special information group will be set up with Russian and Kazakhstan representatives. This has nothing to do with the censorship, he stressed . This group will supply official and true information about events on the Armenian-Azerbaijan border, and refute, if necessary , false information which,unfortunately, sometimes manages to reach the press.

Details of Communique Reported

LD2409122591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1055 GMT 24 Sep 91

[By TASS special correspondents Anatoliy Aladinskiy and Nikolay Styazhkin]

[Text] Zheleznovodsk (Stavropol Kray), 24 Sep (TASS)—Last night, following difficult discussions relating to the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] the leaders of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], Kazakh SSR, Republic of Azerbaijan, and the Republic of Armenia signed a joint communique. The most important of its points is that the state authorities of Azerbaijan and Armenia are approving empowered delegations, which will immediately engage in a bilateral talks process on a permanent basis until the Karabakh conflict is completely settled. Their actions will be guided by the principles of noninterference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, and unswerving observance of the rights of all citizens regardless of their nationality and in accordance with the norms of international law.

Many issues of a stage-by-stage settlement of the conflict were worked through in the course of mediating efforts by Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev. The communique stresses that the sides declare an immediate cease-fire, which is a primary condition for the negotiating process to begin. All illegal armed formations are subject to unconditional withdrawal from the zone of conflict within two days. The stage-by-stage restoration of the rightful constitutional bodies of power and administration in the conflict zone should be ensured by 1 January.

With the aim of coordinating actions, a provisional working group of observers is being formed, which is to include authorized representatives of the RSFSR and Kazakhstan.

The Azerbaijan Republic and the Republic of Armenia are to provide for the stage-by-stage return of deported people, starting with villages which lie empty. The sides guarantee these people's safety in their places of permanent residence. Talks on this issue are to begin as early as 1 October.

The parties to the conflict embark on immediate freeing of hostages.

The outcome of the peace mission of the Russian and Kazakhstan leaders was summed up at a news conference. Speaking to journalists, Boris Yeltsin stressed that the shared opinion is that the signed communique is an historic document. The talks were not been easy, but nonetheless nobody shirked acute problems, and everything was done to help achieve a compromise. The problems are serious and cannot be discussed dispassionately. And emotions did surface. But goodwill has triumphed—the document provides an opportunity to defuse the conflict and end the bloodshed. Negotiations will now be held on a permanent basis to achieve a final solution to the Karabakh dispute. These negotiations will encompass all interested parties and will be comprehensive, dealing with diverse aspects of this inflamed situation. And again, they will be brokered by Russia and Kazakhstan. It has been agreed to establish a special information unit to supply the mass media with official reports that accurately reflect the true nature of events taking place. It is no secret that disinformation has more than once appeared in newspapers and on television and radio, and has caused further problems. I must emphasize that this will not be censorship but a source of official information. Should any journalist lapse into inaccuracies, the (information) unit should issue a clarification.

We thank the the Stavropol Kray leadership for creating conditions favoring the success of our work.

Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev noted that Russia and Kazakhstan cannot be indifferent to the conflict in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. One cannot not extinguish it. That is what explains our peacemaking mission of mediation. The communique that was signed was indeed born amidst torment. Some difficult, painstaking work now lies ahead in implementing it. This document has to be implemented and made to work. We are convinced that the peoples of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Nagorno-Karabakh will fully take on board the importance of this work. It will exert a beneficial influence upon processes of social renewal and the removal of interethnic conlicts in all other regions. We understand the responsibility that we are taking upon ourselves with our mission and the extent to which we have staked our reputation upon this process. We are satisfied with the results.

"The meeting was satisfactory", Ayaz Mutalibov stated at the news conference. "I am grateful to B. Yeltsin and N. Nazarbayev. The signed communique should be put into effect. Real conditions for this now exist. Our peoples yearn for a peaceful life. This prolonged conflict distracts them from productive labor. The overwhelming majority of the Azerbaijani people and, I am sure, the Armenian people will support us. The atmosphere itself at the meetings and talks was of respect for the sovereignty of the republics, their territorial integrity and, non-intervention in each other's affairs. We have no right not to travel the road that has been charted. The conflict could have been extinguished earlier, but the center adopted an anti-humanitarian stance toward the situation. And the results were tragedy and sorrow. The solutions achieved will influence the improvement of the situation throughout the entire country.

"It is not possible to say that we have solved the Karabakh problem at the meeting", said Levon Ter-Petrosyan. "But a step has been taken towards solving it. There is not total mutual understanding as yet. Serious, lengthy work is yet to come. But we have got moving on this. Good decisions were made previously as well, but the mediating role was played by the center, which included those who later turned up in the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Now the mediators are neutral and authoritative. They are the guarantee of success".

It is symbolic that the peace-making mediation meeting between the RFSFSR and Kazakh SSR leaders and the authorized delegations of Azerbaijan and Armenia took place in the conference hall of the Zheleznovodsk "Dubovaya Roshcha" sanatorium where Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Mikhail Gorbachev held talks last summer. Great success was achieved then. May the good traditions continue in the implementing of the decisions adopted during the peace-making mediation mission to settle the Karabakh Problem.

'Text' of Communique

LD2409154691 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 24 Sep 91

["Joint Communique on the Results of the Mediating Mission of President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation and President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan"—TASS headline]

[Text] Zheleznovodsk September 24 TASS—Follows the full text of the joint communique:

The intense conflict in the region of Nagorno-Karabakh has gone on unabated for four years, claiming the lives of numerous people of different nationalities—civilians and services personnel of regular Army units and interior troops.

The central authorities of the USSR have been unable to work out and implement effective measures to normalize the situation in the region. Gross errors were made resulting in worsening of confrontation between sides and the increase of distrust in federal bodies.

In the obtaining [as received] situation, the need arose for mediating efforts aimed at creating conditions to start the negotiating process capable of gradually laying the foundation for the normalization of the situation in the region.

Upon agreement with the Azerbaijani and Armenian sides, the role of mediators was taken upon themselves by the leaders of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan.

On September 20-23, 1991, the mediating mission, led by President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation and President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, visited Baku, Gyandzha, Stepanakert and Yerevan.

The sides seeking settlement of the conflict are guided by the principles of non-interference in internal affairs of sovereign states and the undeviating observance of civil rights of citizens, irrespective of their nationality and in accordance with international legal norms.

Through mediation some problems of the gradual settlement of the conflict were discussed.

The main results of discussion are as follows:

1. The sides believe that the necessary and binding conditions for settlement of the conflict are a cease fire, the repeal, before January 1, 1992, of all unconstitutional Azerbaijanian and Armenian enactments concerning Nagorno-Karabakh, the recognition of authority of legitimate bodies of power, the withdrawal from the conflict zone of all armed forces, except units of Soviet Interior Ministry and Soviet Defence Ministry troops.

When this period has expired, the presence of all armed forces and their activities will be considered illegal by all sides and will be suppressed by the Soviet Interior Ministry troops, and members of armed forces are liable under [word indistinct]

A working group of observers is hereby entrusted with working out measures to safeguard the cease fire, neutralize all armed forces defined as illegitimate, create guarantees of safety for all citizens residing in the conflict zone.

2. For purposes of taking coordinated measures to normalize the situation in the conflict zone a provisional working group is set up, including authorized representatives of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan. The working group begins activities from October 1.

3. The Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Armenia ensure the eventual return of deported people to their homes. Beginning with the fully vacated villages.

The sides guarantee safety in places of permanent residence. Talks on this problem must begin from October 1991.

4. The sides involved in the conflict begin an immediate release of hostages. This process must be completed within a period of two weeks, upon the expiry of which persons involved in holding hostages may be prosecuted under the law.

Control over compliance with this provision is exercised by authorized representatives of the mediating sides.

5. Together with federal bodies, the sides guarantee to normalise all railway, air traffic and communication systems within two weeks.

All sides, with the cooperation of mediators, will start negotiations to ensure the free and mutually beneficial fucntioning of all highways.

6. During the talks the sides arrived at a unanimous decision to guarantee the flow of impartial information into the conflict zone.

It was decided to set up an information group, consisting of representatives of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan authorized to prepare official information about developments in the conflict zone.

7. The supreme bodies of the state authority of Azerbaijan and Armenia will approve authorized delegations, which will immediately begin bilateral negotiations on a permanent basis.

8. The sides believe the negotiation process will begin once bilateral treaties have been prepared and signed between the Russian Federation and the Azerbaijani Republic, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Armenia, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan, and Kazakhstan and the Republic of Armenia.

9. The working group of observers is entrusted with preparing, within a month, proposals for the subsequent stages of settling the conflict.

10. The working group of observers will regularly inform the top leaders of the four republics about the progress of realizing the measures envisaged by this communique.

The provisions contained in this communique cannot be viewed as the right of the mediators to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states—the Azerbaijanian Republic and the Republic of Armenia.

The communique is signed by:

For the Russian Federation:	For the Azerbaijani Republic:
Boris Yeltsin	Ayaz Mutalibov
For Kazakhstan:	For the Republic of Armenia:
Nursultan Nazarbayev	Levon Ter-Petrosian

Taking part in the discussion of the communique were:

Ye. Shaposhnikov
V. Barannikov
S. Voskanyan
M. Gezalov
V. Dzhafarov
R. Kocharian
L. Petrosian
M. Radayev

September 23, 1991
Zheleznovodsk

IZVESTIYA Cites Agreement

PM2409141391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[S. Matayev report under general headline: "In Zheleznovodsk—Concerning Karabakh"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Literally just before this issue was finalized, IZVESTIYA's correspondent managed to get hold of a draft of the only copy of the joint communique on the mediation mission by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev.

The four and a half page document begins with a preamble which stresses that the central organs of power have proved incapable of elaborating and implementing effective measures to normalize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The document's main points are as follows: All sides declare an immediate cease-fire. It is proposed to formulate over a two-week period a concrete plan of successive steps to halt the shooting and establish security guarantees for all citizens.

The sides consider it necessary to restore full powers to the constitutional organs of power and administration in the zone of conflict, and to recommend their reelection within two months at the latest.

Also, it is proposed to form a working group of monitors of the normalization of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. In all probability this group will comprise representatives from all sides. The draft states that it would be advisable for representatives from international organizations, including the United Nations, to participate in the monitors' group.

The sides will ensure the return of citizens deported over the last six months, and they guarantee their safety in places of permanent residence.

But so far this is only a draft. Even as these lines are being transmitted, all interested parties have begun agreeing the communique's text behind closed doors.

Violent Interethnic Clashes Continue

OW2409115691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1115 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] While settlement talks were under way in Zheleznovodsk, hostilities continued in Nagorno-Karabakh.

As IF's [INTERFAX] reporter has learnt at the district police headquarters in Mardakert, on Monday morning nearly 100 Azerbaijani OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] commandos attacked the local Armenian village of Chapar, killing 5 civilians, among them a boy of 14. Later in the day, one more Armenian was killed. Many Chapar residents were wounded, three of them seriously.

On Tuesday morning, OMON's armored personnel carrier opened machine-gun fire on the self-defense units in Chapar.

Late on Monday night, the Armenian village of Noragyukh in the NKAO's Askeran District came under artillery and missile attack from the neighboring Azerbaijani village of Khodjaly. Early reports say 5 homes were destroyed and a number of residents wounded.

The press service of the party DASHNAKTSUTYUN informed the Armenian parliament that on Sunday and Monday "Armenian guerillas carried out a number of large-scale military operations" in the Gheranboi (formerly Shau-yanovsk) district of Azerbaijan, destroying the largest Azerbaijani OMON bases in the villages of Bachyglag, Todan, and Sarisu, and driving commandos from the villages of Shefeg and Zeyva.

Azerbaijani newspapers report that late on Sunday night "Armenian militants" launched a fire attack on the village of Imaret Ghervend in the Mardakert District of Nagorno-Karabakh. As a result, one resident died and 5 homes were destroyed.

The papers say on the same night the Azerbaijani village of Todan came under fire attacks from the villages of Erkech, Manashid, and Buzluk in the Gheranboi District. Five people, among them a policeman, were wounded.

Continued Fighting Reported

LD2509062891 Moscow TASS in English 0218 GMT 25 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert September 24 TASS—While the leaders of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno-Karabakh were engaged in talks in Zheleznovodsk with the mediation of Boris Yeltsin and Nursultan Nazarbayev, fighting in Karabakh continued, with six Armenians killed and three heavily wounded in Chapar village of Mardakert district of Nagorno-Karabakh.

There was a gun-battle in the area of Chapar and Imeret-Gerevend villages on september 22, Lieutenant Colonel Adison Danielyan, militia chief of Mardakert District, told TASS. One Armenian was wounded. Two houses were burned down in Imeret-Gerevend, he said.

An attack on Chapar on the part of the Azerbaijani villages of Agdaban and Imeret-Gerevend began in the morning on Monday. One Armenian was killed on Monday afternoon, and another five residents, among them a 14-year-old boy, were killed on the outskirts of the village. Attackers did not enter the village but set fire to three outlying houses.

According to a report from the zone of the conflict, a helicopter-borne group was landed near the village prior to the attack. Among those landed were people in militia uniform. There was no immediate information on casualties among Azerbaijanis.

Servicemen of USSR Interior-Ministry troops took part in action to stop the armed clash, the commandant's

office of the state-of-emergency area reported. One serviceman was slightly wounded in Imeret-Gerevend. Measures are being taken to avert further armed conflicts.

Apart from the incident in Mardakert District, missiles of Alazan type were fired on the Azerbaijani township of Khodjally and the Armenian village of Noragyukh on Monday night. No one was hurt but several houses were damaged.

Azeri OMON Reportedly Involved in Clashes

LD2409145191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Even while talks to settle the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict were being held in Zheleznovodsk, the fighting continued in Nagorno-Karabakh. As an INTERFAX correspondent was informed at the Mardakert rayon militia headquarters, on the morning of 23 September about 100 Azerbaijani OMON men attacked the nearby Armenian vilage of Chapar. Five local residents, including a 14-year-old youth, died from bullet wounds after the attackers opened fire. On the evening of the same day, another Armenian was killed. Many residents of Chapar were wounded, three of them seriously.

Russian Plan Sees Army 'Separating' Forces

PM2309083191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

["Direct Line" report by RIA correspondent: "Decree in the Offing"]

[Text] A draft decree on urgent measures to settle the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict has gone to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev for his signature.

Russian deputies also participated in the preparation of the docment, and their version called for the USSR president's organizing through intermediaries talks involving Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Armenian and Azerbaijani communities of Nagorno-Karabakh and restoring the powers of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] soviet and its executive committee before elections. It is proposed that a group of intermediaries be set up, comprising representatives of the USSR, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], and Kazakhstan presidents, to prepare proposals on the main stages in a settlement of the conflict. The functions of peacekeeping, separation of the sides involved in the conflict, preservation and reestablishment of the peoples' established settlement zones, and protection of communications in the NKAO and the former Shaumyanovskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan would be performed, according to the Russian draft, by USSR Internal Affairs Ministry troops. It is proposed that the USSR Defense Ministry perform the function of separating the sides in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev on Nagorno-Karabakh Negotiations

Views on Gorbachev Decree

OW2109151291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 21 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Mikhail Gorbachev's decree should never see light", said the Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev about the draft decree by the USSR President "On Urgent Measures To Settle the Ethnic Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh".

INTERFAX has been told by the press-service of the Kazakh president that N. Nazarbayev expressed an opinion while talking to journalists in flight to the Caucasus that "the draft ignores Azerbaijan's status as a sovereign state".

"The best that Gorbachev can do in this situation", he added, is cancel the earlier unconstitutional decision on a special status of Nagorno-Karabakh". As to disbanding illegal armed units, N. Nazarbayev reminded that it was decided back in 1990.

The Kazakh President stressed that he saw the goal of his joint mission with Boris Yeltsin to Baku, Yerevan and Nagorno-Karabakh in "bringing the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan to a negotiating table". "It would be naive to expect speedy results from this trip", remarked Nursultan Nazarbayev. "The reconciliation process has to be long and complicated, we should face that reality. A mediator is to stand between the two sides helping them to meet and talk".

More Comments

LD2409175691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Response by Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, to question by unidentified correspondent in Alma-Ata on 24 September 1991; from the "TV Inform" program—recorded]

[Text] [Nazarbayev] I have convinced myself once again how unfortunate this is for the people. Who needs this, these ordinary people who have been banished from their homes? I suggested that each of the republics—Azerbaijan and Armenia—immediately appoint a representative delegation, which could start the talks process. In other words, the very start of the talks process is very important.

We succeeded in signing a communique with the four republics. So, what are the main things in it: First, a cease-fire and the restoration of the legitimate power. But we were mediators, this is a very modest role, people standing in the middle so that they can sit down at the conference table. I think that we succeeded in doing this.

Details of Nazarbayev-Baker Press Conference

Focus on Semipalatinsk

PM2009135991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by correspondent Sergey Skorokhodov: "Baker-Nazarbayev Press Conference"]

[Text] Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker held a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists in Alma-Ata yesterday.

The journalists' first question was:

Mr President, during your conversations what did you say to Secretary of State Baker about the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site?"

Nazarbayev pointed out that by his order nuclear tests had ceased at the site and the site would become a Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences scientific research facility. As is known, three union republics possess nuclear weapons. They are Russia, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan, and the latter plays a signifiant part. As president of the republic, Nazarbayev stressed, I fully support the principles set forth by Mr Baker at his press conference in Washington, and I myself expounded these principles at the country's Supreme Soviet session on 26 August. Kazakhstan is prepared to have international human rights experts on a permanent basis. But, Nazarbayev said, I consider it of fundamental importance that we should retain a single defense system in the country and a single nuclear missile potential under the control of the republics on whose territory it is located. I am against any one republic's having nuclear weapons, the president said.

"Mr Baker, what can one expect in the immediate future in relations between the United States and Kazakhstan?"

"I can say that in our opinion Kazakhstan is a leading and one of the most important republics in the Union. And President Nazarbayev is one of your most authoritative leaders."

The secretary of state pointed out that the solution of the question of economic cooperation between republics will allow for the speedier elaboration of a single reform plan for the entire country. As soon as this plan is adopted international economic institutions—the World Bank, the IMF, and so on—will start financing programs for the education and training of cadres.

Answering a question from a Radio Liberty correspondent, J. Baker noted that the very fact that he is in Alma-Ata indicates that the United States intends to broaden ties and contacts with the republic. And not

only because it is so big and rich, but because of the progressive positions of its leadership and of President Nazarbayev personally.

The secretary of state made it clear that, in his view, in the post-putsch period President Nazarbayev will play a prominent part in all political processes in the country.

In turn N. Nazarbayev thanked Secretary of State J. Baker for kindly responding to the invitation and visiting Alma-Ata. He expressed special gratitude for the fact that Mr Baker and his wife had visited his family and for the intimate and very frank conversation in domestic surroundings.

Nazarbayev Statement 'Misconstrued'

PM2309095991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 91 p 1

[Report by A. Krayniy: "Period of Semi-Collapse for One of the Kazakh President's Ideas"]

[Text] The Kazakh president's statement that there are still nuclear weapons in the republic and that the closure of the Semipalatinsk test range is merely the closure of the range and nothing more has hit the front pages of newspapers around the world. They interpret him in various ways. We decided to turn to the man who, by dint of his position, has access to primary information: He is USSR Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov. This is what he told us.

"Today I spoke with the Kazakh president. It is his view that the press has probably misconstrued his words. The view he expressed was in the sense that everything remains as before insofar as nuclear weapons are controlled from the center, and that the Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies adopted decisions on strategic nuclear arms."

In short, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov believes that there are no grounds for a scandal.

Kazakhstan and Estonia Discuss Future Cooperation

Protocol on Principles of Relations

LD2209092291 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Sep 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] In Alma-Ata the leaders of two republics have discussed ways for future cooperation between the Kazakhstan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the Estonian Republic.

[Reporter Nugmanova] A protocol on the principles of inter-governmental relations between the Kazakhstan SSR and the Estonian Republic was initialled today by Uzakbay Karamanov, prime minister of Kazakhstan, and Edgar Savisaar, head of the Government of Estonia. At this meeting issues of the future evolution and deepening of trade and economic relations between the two sovereign republics were discussed.

Kazakhstan is seeking its own way out of the crisis situation. The republic considers it necessary to initiate dialogue without delay with all who are striving to develop lateral ties and to support, not destroy, those economic relations that have been set up. Without any participation of the center whatsoever, Kazakhstan has concluded treaties on mutual cooperation with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the Ukraine, Belarus, Azerbaijan and the republics of Central Asia.

Estonia is the first of the Baltic republics to express a desire to work directly with us. The first step to cooperation has been taken. The parties agreed to set up a joint working commission to develop a draft agreement on trade and economic and financial relations, investment policy, the question of communications and transport and the evolution of cultural relations.

I think that the reciprocal accord of the leaders will mean that it is possible to surmount the crisis in the economy, and to set up, in the final analysis, a common economic zone in which there will be a genuine market economy. [video shows Edgar Savisaar and Uzakbay Karamanov in conference]

Estonian Delegation Leaves

LD2209122291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] A governmental delegation from Estonia left Alma-Ata for Bishkek this morning. Yesterday, Kazakh Prime Minister Karamanov and Estonia government chairman Savisaar signed a protocol on talks on principles of intergovernmental relations between Kazakhstan and the Estonian Republic, according to the AZIYA-PRESS news agency.

Singapore Senior Minister Addresses Supreme Soviet

Comments on Defeated Economic Plan

BK2409092591 Singapore THE STRAITS TIMES in English 21 Sep 91 p 8

[Text] Alma Ata—The Soviet Union and its republics must embark immediately on economic reforms and stabilisation without being held back by the question of how much assistance the West can give them, Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew said yesterday.

The level of financial help that the West would give would depend ultimately on how their national interests would be affected by the spillover effects of the troubles facing the republics, he said.

Mr Lee was commenting on the defeated "500 Day" plan by Soviet economist Grigory Yavlinsky to transform the country from a centrally-planned system to a market economy.

The Senior Minister was asked during a question-and-answer session after his address on the free market to the Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet if the privatisation plan would have worked.

He replied that the programme assumed certain fundamental free market reforms.

Unfortunately, however, when Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev went to meet the Group of Seven leaders in London in July, he had not yet accepted the need for such drastic reforms.

Moreover, the G-7 leaders had not responded in the way the plan would have wanted them to, where they would have to commit at least US$30 billion (S$51 billion) to US$50 billion a year to ensure that the Soviet economy could make the transition to a market economy, said Mr Lee.

"To start off by asking the West to commit US$30 billion to US$50 billion for five or more years is to place the bar of the pole vault too high," he said.

Mr Lee noted that no government in the world was altruistic unless its national interest compelled it to be so.

Urging Kazakhstan and the republics to push ahead, he said: "You must take the future into your own hands and go forth and learn from others.

"If you stand still you will be in trouble, if you go back backwards, it would be even worse for you."

"As you go forth, the West must decide at which point they in their own national interest must intervene to avoid catastrophe and dissolution.

"You have 30,000 nuclear warheads, it worries them, it worries me."

During the brief session chaired by Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Mr Lee was also asked what he thought was the top priority for the Soviet central Asian republic in its efforts to launch itself into the free market.

Mr Lee said that macroeconomic stabilisation was critical and the relationship between the Soviet centre and the republics had to be sorted out first.

In the meantime, he said, Kazakhstan could start boosting its foreign investment standing by improving access to the republic by air, telex, satellite and all other forms of communication.

This would greatly help it to improve its tourist potential and attract many people to the place, thereby speeding up the building of more industries, hotels and other related businesses.

He said: "Your contacts to the outside world must improve and improve rapidly before all else."

After another full day yesterday, Mr Lee had his own private dinner at his guest residence here. His host, Mr Nazarbayev, had to fly off last night to Azerbaijan to confer with the republic's leaders on the unrest there.

To Help Establish Communications

BK2409092791 Singapore THE STRAITS TIMES in English 22 Sep 91 p 3

[By Zuraidah Ibrahim in Kazakhstan]

[Text] Alma Ata—Singapore will help Kazakhstan establish communication links with the rest of the world and assist in the building of its tourist and hotel industry, Mr Lee Kuan Yew has said.

Disclosing this at a press conference on Friday, the Senior Minister said that Singapore would be sending over some communication experts from Telecoms to study what would be needed to link Kazakhstan with Singapore and other countries by air and satellite.

At the joint press conference, Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev said that Mr Lee had promised to put him in touch with Mr Toshiki Kaifu and would brief the Japanese Prime Minister on the discussion they had on his country's reforms.

Mr Nazarbayev said that he agreed with much of what Mr Lee had recommended to him in his plan to bring Kazakhstan into the free market and to be part of the international world.

Mr Lee had said that the top priority now would be to establish direct communication links with other countries and not have travellers or telephone calls via Moscow, which would take a long time for any outsider to connect to Kazakhstan.

Said Mr Nazarbayev: "The advice of Mr Lee is to develop these contacts and improve all communication links with all other growth centres. I think this is very important advice which we should carry out immediately."

He added that he was planning to sign a communications agreement with Turkey next week for an air link between Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan's capital, and Ankara, the capital of Turkey.

This would be the first step, he said, adding that Kazakhstan was also in the midst of expanding its airport facilities which would eventually become an international airport.

On links with Singapore, and through it other countries, the President said that he hoped his visit to Singapore in November would firm up arrangements.

On this, Mr Lee noted that commercial airline traffic between Alma-Ata and Singapore must be free and established first before any tourist from Singapore would come to visit this largest Central Asian Soviet republic which shares a border with China.

On Mr Nazarbayev's assurance that he would be sending up a satellite late this year to improve his country's communications links, Mr Lee said that the link-up must, more importantly, be to international satellites over the Pacific and Indian Ocean, and not just for internal use.

He said: "Communication between Alma-Ata and the important trading centres of the world must be established as rapidly as possible, or else, business cannot be done." At present, he noted, businessmen going to Kazakhstan had to go to Moscow first and then catch an internal flight to Alma-Ata.

His business would be made more difficult when, in order to get in touch with his home base, he would have to fax and telephone via Moscow before he could obtain a line out of the Soviet Union. On the help that Singapore would offer, Mr Lee said that local experts would come over to study current infrastructure, the magnitude of the problem and how the satellite link-up could be set up for both government and private sector use.

He added: "The problem is the cost and this will have to be met by some form of counter-trade because the rouble is not a convertible currency."

At the press conference, Mr Lee was asked if Kazakhstan could become a fifth tiger among the NIEs [newly industrialized economy].

He said that it was possible but it had to improve its infrastructure quickly and fit into the international grid. Kazakhstan should also bring about a change in its people to accept that competition and cooperation were important in ensuring personal rewards.

Said Mr Lee: "It's the cultural change which is going to take some time. The sooner you recognise this basic change, the sooner you will became a tiger."

German Finance Minister Waigel Meets Nazarbayev

LD2509030191 Moscow TASS in English 2225 GMT 24 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata September 24 TASS—A German delegation led by Finance Minister Theodor Waigel paid a brief visit here today. The delegation were received by President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan.

Matters aimed at developing economic relations between West European countries and the Soviet Union and its sovereign republics were raised during the conversation. Progress in economic relations depends on the stabilisation of the socio-political situation and the pace of formation of free market structures in the USSR, speakers pointed out.

The leadership of the republic does everything to keep the common economic space of the country by acting together with other republics, Nazarbayev emphasised.

At the same time Kazakhstan is prepared to strengthen direct business contacts with foriegn partners. A legislative basis favourable for large-scale attraction of foreign investments has been laid in Kazakhstan.

This will also largely substantiated by the republic's own gold reserve and a diamond stock being created in the republic.

Kazakhstan appreciates the "increased interest that Germany takes in the republic where a half of Soviet ethnic Germans live."

Ethnic Germans have all possibilities to participate in the political, economic and social life of the republic on a par with all other people, the president said.

Waigel reaffirmed his country's commitment to the accords reached at the latest Group of Seven summit in London and its readiness to cooperate not only with the Union's central authority but also with republics in the light of new realities that have taken shape in the USSR.

Having pointed to the usefulness of the current contacts, Waigel said that the delegation, upon returning home, will inform in detail the federal chancellor and the government of the results of these contacts.

Nazarbayev Protests Cossack Action to Yeltsin

PM2409095391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Sep 91 Single Edition p 2

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent T. Yesilbayev under "Around the Country" rubric: "Cossacks on the Loose"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—Kazakh President N. Nazarbayev has sent a message to RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B. Yeltsin in connection with recent events in Uralsk.

It says, in particular: Despite the refusal of the local organs of power in Uralsk to mark the 400th anniversary of the Uralsk Cossacks' service to the Russian state and our frequent appeals to you proposing that this event be moved to RSFSR territory, several hundred representatives of the Russian Cossacks led by Hetman A. Martynov have arrived in Uralsk.

In effect, the republic's population and public movements saw the Cossacks' provocative actions on Kazakhstan territory 15 September under the Russian flag as a political act of blatant disrespect for the state sovereignty of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

Concerning the present situation, the Kazakh president drew B. Yeltsin's attention to the fact that the Russian leadership's timely assessment of the gravity of the problems linked with the Cossack movement's unwarranted claims would stop the leaders of the Cossack public movement undertaking thoughtless actions of this kind.

Freight Bound for Chelyabinsk Oblast Confiscated

LD2309131891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 23 Sep 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The republican Interior Ministry staff has emerged on the roads of northern Kazakhstan. They are detaining vehicles loaded with freight for Chelyabinsk oblast. They confiscate the freight, citing the Kazakh president's directive banning export of goods from the republic.

According to the Urals press, they are very unhappy about all this in Chelyabinsk Oblast. After all, they have already sent tractors to Kazakhstan, having agreed beforehand that in exchange they would get grain. Yet the grain has now been confiscated.

Antinuclear Test Campaigners To Meet in Kazakhstan

LD2309141391 Moscow TASS in English 1233 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Ignatov]

[Text] Alma-Ata September 23 TASS—An international get-together of anti-nuclear testing campaigners is to take place in Semipalatinsk, near a Soviet nuclear weapon test site, next month. The October 14-20 meet's slogan will be "Five Minus One: For Global Disarmament".

The Semipalatinsk site, one of the planet's five nuke testing areas, was recently shut down, which explains the motto.

The meeting, sponsored by the Nevada-Semipalatinsk anti-nuclear movement, will hear reports offering declassified data about the impact of nuclear testing on nature and people. Participants will also visit special laboratories.

They are expected to set up a union of nuclear test victims at the meeting.

Deputy Seeks 'Political Asylum' in Russia

LD2409155591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0815 GMT 24 Sep 91

By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Tatyana Zhurbenko

[Text] Alma-Ata, 24 September (TASS)—After a week-long hunger strike, people's deputy of Kazakhstan Vladimir Chernyshev today requested political asylum in Russia.

"The leadership of our republic", he wrote in a letter to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic President Boris Yeltsin, "is violating the law and it is impossible to lodge a complaint against this."

As already reported in an item circulated by TASS on 20 September, Chernyshev's action was in response to the failure of his appeals to the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, to the president, the Procuracy and the chairman of the republic's Supreme Court regarding the invalidity of laws adopted by deputies at a session because of the absence of a quorum.

Although the stand by the building foreman from Kustany was backed by 20 of his colleagues at the republic's Supreme Soviet, the majority of members of the Kazakhstan parliament hold a different view. They believe that this type of protest reflects badly on a politician and threatens to destabilize the situation in the republic.

Kyrgyzstan

Refusal To Sign Treaty on Economic Union

Adopted 'in Principle'

LD2109023491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Akayev, the president of Kyrgyzstan, has stated that the draft treaty on economic union is excessively centralized, and that Kyrgystan will not sign this document—which was adopted in principle, as is known, by the State Council on Monday—without fundamental amendments.

Yavlinskiy Project Too Centralized

LD2209105191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Text] On Saturday at the session of the Kyrgyzstan Supreme Soviet, the republic's President Akayev gave a report in which he laid out the concept of creating an economic community of European and Asian states. In Akayev's opinion, this community should become the foundation for the establishment of various military, political, humanitarian, and other structures. In his report, Akayev came out against the Yavlinskiy project, considering it damaging to the concept itself. In Akayev's opinion, Yavlinskiy's project cannot be completed; therefore, it must be rejected. In Yavlinskiy's project, central, directed regulation predominates, in Akayev's opinion, which will renew the old, rejected system. Akayev believes that it is necessary to link a draft economic treaty with a law on the bodies of state authority and government of the Union in the transfer period, with agreements on a military union and humanitarian cooperation. Akayev spoke in favor of the possibility of three categories of membership in the future Union: plenipotentiary membership, associate membership, and membership as an observer.

Details of Objections

LD2309053191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 22 Sep 91

[Video report by correspondent V. Fedorov; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] The seventh extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan has taken place in Bishkek.

[Fedorov] I cannot sign the union treaty which is based on the draft by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, stated Askar Akayev, the president of Kyrgyzstan, speaking at the session on the prospects for cooperation with the other sovereign republics. He justified his categorical objection to this by the fact that this draft reanimates the center, which regulates the economy by instruction and which encroaches upon the rights and freedoms of the republics.

In the opinion of Askar Akayev, the draft convention on economic community which was proposed by Academician Shatalin, and which is based on the experience of integration in Western Europe, is more likely to correspond to the realities of the new relations between the sovereign states. The Kyrgyz leader has proposed a structure for the economic community of the sovereign states of Europe and Asia.

The session has elected a republican deputation to the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It was decided that the deputation be controlled by and be accountable to the republican Supreme Soviet, which has the right to recall its representatives. [video shows Akayev on the rostrum, speaking to deputies in the hall]

Inclined Toward Shatalin Draft

PM2409145591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Ryabushkin under "Direct Line" rubric: "Kyrgyzstan Names Its Envoys to USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Bishkek—Addressing a Kyrgyzstan Supreme Soviet session, republic President A. Akayev severely criticized the draft of the union treaty formulated in Novo-Ogarevo, and the draft treaty on economic union, elaborated by G. Yavlinskiy's working group.

Akayev showed a preference for the draft "Convention on Creating an Economic Community" composed under academician S. Shatalin's leadership.

Incidentally, at a news conference held by E. Savisaar, chairman of the Estonian Government who came here to sign a Treaty on Trade, it was noted that Estonia is also more inclined toward the Shatalin draft.

The session elected Kyrgyzstan representatives to work in the chambers of the newly formed USSR Supreme Soviet. The discussion of candidacies was more reminiscent of a personnel department session endeavoring to find work for unemployed party apparatchiks and former USSR Supreme Soviet members. Even U. Sydykov, former first secretary of Osh Oblast party committee, who has been unable to find work in the republic, was elected to the country's legislature.

Kyrgyzstan, Estonia Sign Trade Treaty for 1992

LD2309000391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1143 GMT 22 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Barshay]

[Text] Bishkek, 22 Sep (TASS)—A treaty on trade for 1992 has been signed during the visit of an Estonian governmental delegation to Kyrgyzstan, the first in the history of relations between the two republics.

The agreement takes into account the interest of both sides in further developing mutually beneficial cooperation on an equal rights basis under conditions of switching to a new mechanism of economic relations. The reciprocal delivery of products and goods in which both republics have an interest is envisaged, at a level not lower than that for 1990. Thus, Kyrgyzstan will receive from Estonia cotton and linen fabrics, sewn products and footwear, furniture, paper, medicines, refrigerating equipment, and other goods. In return, electric lamps and medical instruments, wool and tobacco, silicon and antimony, drills and haberdashery products will arrive at the shores of the Baltic from Tien Shan.

During the meeting between the prime minister of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, Nasirdin Isanov, and the chairman of the government of the Estonian Republic, Edgar Savisaar, progress in effecting the agreement on developing the economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation between the two republics for 1991, and also the principles of economic relations for 1992 and the long term, were discussed. The heads of government of both republics agreed that mutually beneficial cooperation between Estonia and Kyrgyzstan should assume a greater and deeper scale.

Preparations for Law To Establish National Guard

OW2409223491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Legislation on a National Guard is in preparation in Kyrghyzstan. INTERFAX reports that the Guard is expected to number 600 men, formed on the basis of the Interior Ministry's units and the President's guard. It will include professionals on a contract [word indistinct] and army servicemen drafted this autumn.

It is to be financed from the republic's budget.

Tajikistan

Presidential Candidates Reviewed

91US0812A Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Sep 91 p 1

[Article by B. Ashurov: "From Opposition to Alliance..."]

[Text] Dushanbe—Elections for president of Tajikistan are scheduled for 27 October.

All one hears today is conversation on who will lead the republic. Four candidates have thus far been named for the office: R. Nabiyev, chairman of the republic environmental protection society; S. Turayev, president of the Khizmat concern; D. Khudonazarov, chairman of the USSR Cinematographers Union; and A. Khalimov, president of the Rokh concern. Only two opposing forces have not as yet officially entered the political campaign—the Islamic Rebirth Party and the Democratic Party of Tajikistan [Rastokhez]. The former, in spite of its high political standing among the indigenous population, is compelled first off to struggle for its own legalization, and not for the office of president, while the Communist Party is today engaged in organizational problems.

But it would be a mistake to believe that these most powerful political forces in the republic will withdraw from the game. If the Islamic Party does not succeed soon in attaining its legalization and officially putting its own nominee forward, it will apparently support a candidacy of its liking. The possibility is not ruled out that this will be someone from among the present nomenklatura oriented towards it in recent times. The Communist Party, finding itself at a crossroads, will apparently act similarly—according to Sh. Shabdolov, one of its current leaders, it will not nominate its own candidate but will support an individual who is capable of uniting all political forces.

It has become known from reliable sources that discussion has been taking place in the apparatus of the Tajik Communist Party central committee with respect to supporting the candidacy of R. Nabiyev, who was its first secretary for a short interval of time. Settling on selection of this candidacy is a political opponent of the Communist Party, A. Turodzhonzod, chief qadi [Islamic judge] of the republic and a leader of the Islamic clergy, who enjoys significant prestige among a certain portion of the faithful. But it is too early to make a judgment as to whose standing is higher among those aspiring to this office. The preelection marathon is just beginning.

State of Emergency Decreed in Dushanbe

Text of Declaration

LD2409152691 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] The decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan to introduce a state of emergency in the city of Dushanbe:

The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, due to significant complications in the city of Dushanbe, and with the aim of preventing the violation of public order, declares a state of emergency in the city of Dushanbe from 24 September 1991 to 1 January 1992. [Words indistinct] the state of emergency in the city of Dushanbe, to strengthen the protection of public order and buildings, serving the day-to-day activity of the people and the economy, to prohibit the holding of meetings, street (?gatherings) and demonstrations and also sporting activities; to prohibit the holding of strikes, to limit the movement of the means of transportation and carry out checks on them; to check the documents of the citizens in places of public gatherings and when necessary to (words indistinct) from the citizens weapons and to examine the (word indistinct), to examine the goods and means of transport; to prohibit the holding of meetings and street (?gatherings) and demonstrations, including sport activities on all the territory of the Republic of Tajikistan from 24 September 1991 to 1 January 1992.

The implementation of the measures of the state of emergency as stipulated by the current decision is to be effected by Comrade Nabdullanov.

TASS Views Situation

LD2309153191 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 23 Sep 91

[By TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe September 23 TASS—Participants in an unsanctioned rally crowded the square in front of parliament and adjacent streets to protest against the declaration of a state of emergency in Tajikistan.

Tentative estimates put the number of people involved in the picket, which was organised by the popular movement Rastokhez, the Democratic Party of Tajikistan and the Islamic Party of Rebirth, at more than two thousand. People demand that parliament be disbanded and popular elections for the pool of deputies be held on a multiparty basis.

In response to the call by republican leaders, including parliament leader Rakhmon Nabiyev, who was elected today, to disperse, participants in the rally began to put up barricades, ignoring the state of emergency regulations banning all marches and demonstrations. Transport on the busiest thoroughfare of the Tajik capital is paralysed.

New groups of people, mostly youth, continue to throng the square. Participants in the rally chant: "All go to defend democracy", "The Communist Party is the traitor of the Tajik people", "We'll not let a new state emergency committee in Tajikistan". Calls are issued to the Russian-language population not to believe party apparatchiks and the venal parliament.

Special OMON units began to arrive at the place of the rally. Military helicopters are hovering over Dushanbe.

Rally Participants Issue Address

LD2309133291 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Russian 1130 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] The Tajik radio news program "Akhbar" is on the air. Comrades, listen to the address of the participants in a rally on Ozodi Square, which took place today:

We participants in the rally, representatives of the working class, the scientific and creative intelligentsia, office workers, youths, and students are angered to the depths of our souls by the acts of lawlessness and vandalism which have been carried out with the traitorous agreement and instigation of a person who only yesterday stood at the helm of the republic's Communist Party.

We demand that the republic's Supreme Soviet without delay give an assessment today of the anticonstitutional actions of acting President Kadreddin Aslonov. We hope that the republic's legislature will condemn the actions of Maksud Ikramov, chairman of the Dushanbe city executive committee, who, by his unprincipled actions, has assisted the carrying out of a monstrous act: the destruction of a monument to Lenin.

We consider that the decree banning the activity of the republic's Communist Party and the nationalization of party property, contradicting the lawful decision adopted by the republic's people's deputies, and the unauthorized destruction of a monument to Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, are anticonstitutional actions that insult the honor and dignity of every right-thinking citizen. We demand:

1. The urgent convening of an emergency session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan.

2. Abrogation of the anticonstitutional decree by the acting president of the republic ending the activity of the Tajikistan Communist Party and the nationalization of its property.

3. That a legal assessment be given to the unlawful actions of the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

4. Abrogation of the instruction of the Dushanbe city Executive Committee on the dismantling of the Lenin Monument.

5. We demand that the deputies of the Dushanbe City Soviet convene an extraordinary session of the Dushanbe City Soviet and express lack of confidence in Ikramov.

6. We appeal to the constitutional supervision committee of the republic's Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Court, the Procuracy, and the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Tajikistan to investigate the actions of Aslonov and Ikramov without delay and to call them to account in accordance with the law.

7. We demand live air time and radio broadcasting of the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan. In the event our demands are ignored, we reserve the right to continue our rally and to call on the working people of the republic to declare a political warning strike.

We appeal to all political parties and movements, representatives of religions, youth pursuing studies, internationalist servicemen, and women of Tajikistan to not allow the splitting of our society and to consolidate all progressive forces to achieve national and civil accord. We are for democratic transformations, the provision of the freedom of conscience and the maintenance of public calm, order, and legality.

Out with Aslonov from the political arena!

Out with Ikramov, a political puppet in the hands of vandals!

Let the law triumph!

People's Deputies Protest

LD2309162591 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Network in Russian 1530 GMT 23 Sep 91

["Statement" by USSR and Tadzhikistan People's Deputies: from the "TV Inform" program]

[Text] On 22 September, a monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin was dismantled. In response to this, those who support the state committee for the state of emergency—the reactionary forces of the Tadzhik Communist Party—carried out a kind of a coup by illegally declaring a state of emergency throughout the territory of the Republic.

Thus, the democratic path of Tadzhikistan's development is threatened. The democratic forces of the republic ask you to prohibit the use of units of the Soviet Army, subunits of the Internal Troops, and the KGB against the people. We ask you to stand up in defense of democracy and to avert more bloodshed.

[Signed] People's Deputies of the USSR and Tadzhikistan: Khudanazarov, Sabir, Safiyeva, Turadzhon-zoda, Sahib-Nazarov, Abdudzaborov, Yakubov, and others. [names as heard]

Crowd Growing

LD2409135691 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0700 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] The number of people participating in the meeting on Liberty Square in the city of Dushanbe has increased considerably. Speakers called on the people to unite and to observe order and discipline and to express

their opposition to the decrees issued by the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet extraordinary session yesterday.

"Long live the unity of all the people!" "Democratic forces unite!" [words indistinct] "Tajiks and Russians are brothers!" These are the slogans participants in the meeting are using. No disorder of any kind is seen at the meeting.

Situation 'Worrisome'

LD2409172291 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1600 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] The situation in Dushanbe is worrisome. Even though a state of emergency has been declared as of 24 September, the activities of the democratic forces—the popular movement Rastokhez [Islamic Party of Rebirth and the Democratic Party of Tajikistan], are continuing on Ozodi Square. The participants are demanding that the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet invalidate the decrees of 23 September, reestablish the previous state of the republic, that Aslonov be reinstated to his previous post, and that the (?insunations) with regard to Ikramov, chairman of the city Executive Committee, be halted.

The participants have decided that they will not leave the square until their demands have been met.

Rastokhez Appeal

LD2409132291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] The Democratic Party of Tajikistan and the Islamic Rebirth Party—Rastokhez People's Movement— have adopted an appeal to the people of the republic and to citizens of all sovereign states. It was distributed today to participants in a rally which has been taking place since this morning on Liberty Square near the Tajik parliament building.

The state of emergency introduced in the capital of Tajikistan on 23 September is described in the appeal as a reactionary communist coup. In the opinion of its authors it is an attempt to take revenge for the years of perestroyka.

The Tajik Supreme Soviet is a model communist preserve, says the call. Rakhmon Nabiyev, a political leader of the Brezhnev stamp, who was illegally elected chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, could only come to power by the hand of the national communist deputies.

We are fully resolved to stand on the barricades to the very end in order to win the lifting of the state of emergency, the dissolution of the communist Supreme Soviet and the holding of universal elections for the president under truly democratic conditions with the participation of foreign observers: Those are the demands of the opposition.

The members of the Association of Democratic Forces of Tajikistan, in appealing to their fellow citizens, expressed conviction that what will be built in the republic will be not an Islamic state but a law-governed, democratic state of civic concord.

'Measures May Be Taken'

OW2409145591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1315 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In defiance of the state of emergency imposed on Tajikistan yesterday, some 10,000 people in Dushanbe's central square have continued a rally to press the demand for dissolving the republican parliament which, they say, by 95 consists of ex-communist leaders and factory and farm head-managers.

The protesters are also urging the republic's Procurator Nurulloh Khuvadullayev to resign. On Monday, the procurator demanded that the Dushanbe Mayor Maksud Ikramov be stripped of his parliamentary immunity and put on trial for ordering the dismantlement of Lenin's monument in the city center.

Opposition leaders have told IF's [INTERFAX] reporter that all the roads into Dushanbe have been sealed by police cordons to prevent the inflow of protesters from other parts of the republic. They said [that a] protesters' clash with the police at the mountain pass of Fakhrabad had resulted in casualties among the civilians.

Meanwhile, the Democratic League of Tajikistan uniting the Democratic Party, the Islamic Rebirth Party, and the popular movement RASTOKHEZ, has called on Tadzhik citizens and people in other sovereign republics to prevent the Tajik parliament, "this communist preserve," from turning the republic into a stronghold of national communism. The democrats are determined "to go all the way to have the state of emergency lifted, the communist parliament dissolved, and a president named through truly democratic elections watched by foreign observers." The appeal says the democrats' ultimate goal is building "not an Islamic state as the communists have been claiming, but a law-ruled democratic state of civil peace that would prove in practical terms its commitment to the international legal acts, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

Late on Monday night, military sources gave it to be understood that Soviet Army units stationed in Tajikistan would not contribute to the enforcement of the state of emergency.

According to Makhmud Malonazarov, head of the Tajik KGB's Public Relations Department, the republican security services have not received any instructions to disperse demonstrators. The KGB chief is reported to have said, however, that since the holding of opposition rallies is at odds with the state of emergency act, measures may be taken against the protesters.

Talks Yield 'No Results'

OW2409202591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The talks between the head of the Tajik Supreme Soviet Rakhmon Nabiyev and united democratic forces of the republic have yielded no results. Rakhmon Nabiyev threatened the use of force, but the democrats ignored his demand of disbanding their unsanctioned rally. An emergency situation will be in force throughout Tajikistan as of Wednesday [25 September].

The opposition rally continues on the former Lenin Sqr. in Dushanbe. Tuesday night it was 8 thousand strong, according to the IF [INTERFAX] correspondent. The rally appealed to the republic's citizens to recognize Kadriddin Aslonov the true chairman of the Supreme Soviet and acting President. Aslonov was ousted by the emergency session of the Supreme Soviet for disbanding the Communist Party.

Dushanbe's city council convened on Tuesday to discuss a possibility of criminal proceedings against the chairman of the city council's Executive Committee Maksud Ikramov who had ordered to demolish the statue of Lenin. The city council expressed confidence in Maksud Ikramov.

In support of the democratic rally in Dushanbe demonstrations have been held in Hodient, the Asht region, also in the Matchin and other regions.

The Supreme Islamic Qadi (judge) Akbar Turadjan-zade made a television address condemning violence against monuments and warning that the demolition of Lenin's statue should not be used as a pretext for an emergency situation.

The Qadi said that Muslims were for a democratic Tajikistan with all religions equal and separated from the state. He advocated removing party structures from state institutions.

The Qadi reassured the Russian minority, but cautioned against playing "the Russian card". He called for an early signing of a friendship treaty with Russia.

USSR Chief of Staff Consulted

PM2409203391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Sep 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by unidentified TASS correspondent under "Direct Line" rubric]

[Text] 24 Sep—Commanders in chief of troops of USSR Armed Forces military districts have received an instruction from the USSR Ministry of Defense leadership not to take part in the resolution of internal and interethnic conflicts in sovereign republics. A TASS correspondent was told this today by Army General Vladimir Lobov, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff.

He stressed that yesterday's order from Colonel General Ivan Fuzhenko, commander of the Turkestan Military District (this includes the whole territory of Soviet Central Asia—TASS note), not to bring troops out onto the streets of Tajikistan's cities fully accords with this directive. As is known, last Monday a session of Tajikistan's parliament decided to introduce a state of emergency throughout the republic's territory.

The refusal to involve troops in the resolution of conflicts in the republics is, in the opinion of observers, evidence of the new Soviet military leadership's desire to rid the Army of the police functions which are not intrinsic to it and which it had previously been forced to fulfill.

Demand Communist Property Be Nationalized

LD2509091891 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0700 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Today, supporters of the opposition—the popular movement Rastokhez, the Islamic Party of Rebirth and the Democratic Party of Tajikistan—continue to gather on Ozodi Square. The participants are demanding the lifting of the state of emergency in the city of Dushanbe and the invalidation of the decree of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan on reinstating the activity of the Communist Party in the republic. They also demand that the property of the Communist Party be nationalized.

Deputies Appeal for Peace

LD2509092991 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0700 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Here is an appeal by the deputies of the Dushanbe City Soviet to the people of the city of Dushanbe and the participants at the meetings:

For a few days now meetings have been held continuously in the center of the city. This is, of course, the basis for the creation of groundless rumors, restlessness and instability in the capital. At this moment, we appeal to you, our electors, to those who have come to the capital in the support of their own ideals and political beliefs, to be calm and patient and to respect the views each of us believes in. The situation in the central sector of the city makes the already difficult provision of food and industrial goods for the people even more difficult and restricts transportation.

In our opinion, political struggle should not affect the already very difficult life of the people. We appeal to all the leaders of all the political parties and movements to consider the difficulties of the people in the city and to seek useful measures to stabilize transportation and other city affairs. We propose that for the benefit of the people we should explore all existing possibilities.

Do not forget that responsibility for people's lives is in your hands. In view of this, we are against the decree of

the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan on the introduction of a state of emergency in the city of Dushanbe.

[Signed] Giyomin, Shukurov, Nasirov, Sayed Khodzhayev, Saddullayev, Kurbonov, Takhirov, Niyazov, Khodzhiyev, Ikramov, Safonkin, Nasirov Nimkong and Alimov, deputies of the Dushanbe city council.

Youth Union To Serve as Alternative to Komsomol

LD2309133391 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1130 GMT 23 Sep 91

[Text] A news conference has been held by an organizational committee to set up a new organization, the Youth Union of Tajikistan. One of the organizers of the union, Comrade (Safarov), academic member of the Institute of History, Archeology, and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan, informed journalists of the aims and tasks of the Youth Union of Tajikistan.

He said that the Youth Union will be an alternative to the republic's Komsomol which, in his words, has totally discredited itself in the eyes of the youth. The idea of the union matured a long time ago, but only the recent democratic transformations in the country and the republic have made it possible.

One of the main tasks of the members of the union will be to participate in the revival of the culture of the Tajik people. The Youth Union will actively assist in carrying out reforms directed at the improvement of the socioeconomic and political situation in the republic.

There are six people on the organizational committee of the Youth Union. In response to journalists' questions, members of the organizational committee voiced confidence that the union will take its place in the youth movement of Tajikistan in the near future.

Turkmenia

Communist Party Property Nationalized

PM2309114391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 91 Union Edition p 2

[Untitled Vladimir Kuleshov report under the "Direct Link" rubric]

[Text] Ashkhabad—By decree of S. Niyazov, president of the Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], all CPSU property on the territory of Turkmenia has been declared the republic's property. The Turkmen SSR Government and local soviets have been instructed to ensure the safekeeping of the party property now declared republic property, and to use it in accordance with the republic's legislation.

Leader Rejects Privatization of Land

PM2309122391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 91 p 1

[V. Ananyev and A. Bushev report: "How Breezy It Is Under the Shade of the Banner..."]

[Text] Leaders of republic ministries, departments, banks, and industrial enterprises have held an all-day session in the Turkmen Presidential Palace. This was a special conference, convened after Turkmenia unexpectedly opted for absolute freedom in choosing its future path of economic and social development.

The previous day, when the Presidential Council met and discussed similar problems, the president had stressed the need for "greater discipline" at all levels—from rank-and-file workers to the highest leaders.

A view formed in favor of bringing their own monetary unit into circulation, organizing their own military district, and setting up their own independent structures for foreign economic activity. The question of reinforcing customs controls was discussed.

Like Uzbekistan, Turkmenia rejected the very idea of privatizing land. Like Islam Karimov, president of the neighboring republic, Saparmurad Niyazov believes that, if the land were surrendered to peasant ownership, it would also be necessary to create a system for partitioning the water, and this is fraught with many dangerous elements. For now, in an effort to "strengthen the republic economy," the Turkmen president resolved to institute Republic "Challenge" Red Banners for achievements in agriculture.

Foreign Minister Seeks United Nations Membership

PM2309134191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Sep 91 Single Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent M. Volkov: "Cost of a UN Seat"]

[Text] Last Saturday, Turkmen Foreign Minister A. Kuliyev flew to the United States. In the minister's briefcase was an application to register Turkmenia as a full member of the United Nations. As your correspondent was told at the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic President's press service, the sovereign republic is hoping that the world community will view with understanding its difficult financial situation, which has arisen because of decades of central diktat.

President Overturns Enforcement of Trade Tax Rates

LD2109134491 Ashkabad Radio Ashkabad Network in Turkmen 1600 GMT 20 Sep 91

[Decree of the President of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic signed in Ashkabad on 20 September 1991: "On Stopping the Enforcement of the Decision of the

USSR Council of Ministers on Establishing Foreign Trade Tax Rates for Exports and Imports"]

[Text] In order to develop the foreign relations of enterprises and associations of the republic, and to enhance economic interests as well as to reduce the shortage of foodstuffs, consumer goods, and products serving the material and technical purposes, I decree:

1. To stop the enforcement on Turkmen territory of decision No. 27 of the USSR Council of Ministers dated 10 January 1991 on establishing 1991 tax rates for exports and imports in foreign trade operations.

2. The Turkmen Ministry of Finance, the Turkmen state committee for foreign economic relations, and the republican customs office must make arrangements to calculate and work out tax charged during foreign trade operations and include it in the income of the republic [word indistinct] and submit it for confirmation within one week.

[Signed] Saparmurad Atayevich Niyazov, president of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic

Crossing Point on Turkmen-Iranian Border Reopened

LD2309102991

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1440 GMT on 22 September broadcast a 6-minute report by Ashkhabad correspondent Babayev on the simplified border crossing formalities which came into force today at Bajgiran on the border between Turkmenia and Iran.

B bayev begins by saying he has just spent the day in Iran. This afternoon, he reports, a large Turkmen delegation drove up the steep and winding road to Bajgiran, which has been newly repaired for the occasion. There Turkmen President Niyazov and Khorasan Governor 'Ali Janati cut a ribbon to reopen the road which had been closed for 15 years. "Why was it closed?", Babayev asks. "Because relations between our two states were cool, to say the least", he goes on.

The reopening of the crossing was impatiently awaited by many people both in Turkmenia and in Iran, where over one million Turkomans live, Babayev continues. In some villages along the Soviet-Iranian border people could shout to their relatives living just 100-200 meters away on the other side of the border. But to visit them they had to send documents to Moscow, then travel via the Azerbaijani border with Iran, a huge detour. What is more, Babayev says, the situation in Azerbaijan has now become rather troubled.

Babayev continues: "How will this work? People living in a 45-km border zone will be able to use this crossing point. The border post is expected to operate twice a week, on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Fifty people a day on each side will be allowed to cross the border". Health and customs checks will not be relaxed, Babayev notes, adding that baggage will be checked.

"Another three of these crossing points are expected to be opened on the Iranian-Turkmen border in due course, under the agreement which has been signed between our states," Babayev continues. "As I have already mentioned, the road linking the Turkmen capital with Khorasan province was also opened today. This provides a direct route for vehicles and freight travelling to Tehran, the countries of the Near East and, ultimately, the Persian Gulf. Now that world prices are becoming a reality in Turkmenia's economic relations with the center and other republics, this is quite important. The republic will now be able to trade with the entire world. If you look at a map, you can see that you have cover an enormous distance to reach the European part of the country or deliver goods to Japan, with which we are now developing quite good trading relations. You have to cross the entire country to reach the Far East. But it is much cheaper to send goods by sea, from the Persian Gulf.

"The president of the republic, Nivazov, is expected to visit Iran at the beginning of October. In fact the dates have already been fixed. The continuation of construction work on the railway line from Serakhs to Mashhad will definitely be discussed there. In other words, the Central Asian Railway will once again be linked to Iran. Neighboring Central Asian republics—Uzbekistan, Tajikistan—and anybody else who wants to will also be able to use this line," Babayev concludes.

Uzbekistan

Karimov Preference for 'Chinese Reforms' Viewed 'Will Travel Its Own Path'

PM2309113991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 91 p 2

[Report by A. Platkovskiy: "Good in Tashkent, Better in Beijing"]

[Text] Chinese ideologists have cause to celebrate a breakthrough on the front of the struggle against "bourgeois liberalization" on a world scale. At a critical moment for the fate of the communist idea, Uzbekistan has displayed the firm resolve to defend its bright ideals. President Islam Karimov stated recently that henceforth "his republic will follow the Chinese reforms model."

There is no doubt that the Uzbek leadership would not be averse to using China's economic developments in order to feed and clothe its own people as rapidly as possible. Social tension is mounting dangerously in the republic under conditions where almost half the population lives below the official poverty line. Even in North Korea every working person is guaranteed 10 kg of meat a year. In Uzbekistan it is eight kilograms. The Chinese path of economic reforms looks quite attractive in this

light. In three to four years they have succeeded in resolving the food problem there and filling the store shelves to such an extent that television sets, for instance, are now sold compulsorily through enterprises. But attempts—even very persistent ones—to achieve the Chinese effect in the Uzbek economy will be doomed to fail. It is clear from the leadership's statements that cotton will remain the basis of agriculture and the peasants will therefore still have to work on someone else's fields—the state's fields—and not on their own land. And it is this—the distribution of land into peasant plots—which was the cornerstone of the Chinese agrarian reform.

If in the economy the Chinese experience is hardly suited to Uzbekistan, the main sphere of its application will obviously be politics. And here Karimov's choice looks entirely logical. The strategy of small steps which do not disrupt stability in society and which guarantee the stability of a one-party dictatorship—that is the thrust of the new model in politics. In other words the conservation of the regime under the conditions of a democracy controlled from above, if Uzbekistan needs democracy at all. On this score the president has a special opinion. He is convinced that meetings and demonstrations should be banned. Otherwise "people will become excited and violence will start." Incidentally, Karimov is reiterating the thought of Deng Xiaoping, who stated that in China, with its population of 1 billion, demonstrations cannot be allowed—millions of people would stop work.

Despite the obvious agreement of the Uzbek and Chinese leadership, observers believe that it will be extremely complicated for Karimov to follow the example of his highly experienced neighbor. The problem is that dissent has taken firm root in the republic and the ban on "Birlik" merely aggravates the situation. In addition, the complex relations with the Muslim clergy threaten in the immediate future to present great unpleasantness for the regime, which is seeking to dictate its own rules of play. For China this problem does not exist. And to be ready fully armed for undesirable turns in internal political life Tashkent needs not only a strong internal security service but also a loyal army, and that is highly problematic. In any event, for the time being Karimov intends to create only a symbolic national guard numbering 700 men. He has promised not to create an independent army. But an application has been made and that is one more signal that Uzbekistan "will travel its own path." Whether anyone likes it or not.

There are suggestions that Tashkent, suspecting the great complexities ahead in connection with the growth of antipathies in the democratically minded neighboring republics, is seeking to establish the safest possible distance in relations with them. But in any event it must also think of consolidating its ties with "reliable friends" on a new basis. The most suitable option is the Chinese one. Beijing would only welcome Tashkent's steps in this direction. After all for the Chinese leadership, in addition to ideological reasons, there are grounds for serious qualms with regard to the growth of separatist feelings in a region close to Uzbekistan—Xinjiang.

We shall not anticipate, but to all appearances new times are coming on the Moscow-Tashkent-Beijing line.

AP Interview Summarized

PM2309140991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 91 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Uzbekistan: President Reckons That His Republic Is Not Ready for Democracy"]

[Text] The U.S. AP agency carried a summary of an interview with Uzbek President I.A. Karimov 17 September.

The Uzbek president said that his Central Asian republic is not ready for democracy and a market economy and will not implement Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's political reforms. "Controlling and curtailing Communist Party activity today means throwing the economy into chaos," Islam Karimov said in the interview Monday.

Karimov said that he wants to follow the Chinese model of limited economic reform and retain the strict ban on political demonstrations until the presidential and legislative elections in his republic, with its 21 million inhabitants. "Perhaps in other parts of the Soviet Union, in the Baltic or in Moscow, people can behave peacefully at demonstrations for hours on end," Karimov said. "But here people rapidly get fired up and violence starts."

Uzbekistan is one of the few places in the Soviet Union where the Communist Party has totally hung on to power. The Uzbek opposition democratic movement, "Birlik" ("Unity"), charges Karimov with creating an appanage principality and refusing to observe human rights such as freedom of speech and assembly.

Karimov said that elections may be held early next year if the Uzbek parliament completes its work on the electoral legislation. It will make provision for a multiparty system. However, Karimov voiced doubts as to "Birlik's" taking part in the elections. He pointed out that only officially registered parties have the right to nominate candidates. There are two such parties in Uzbekistan: the party that was renamed on Saturday, changing from the Communist Party to the People's Democratic Party (with 700,000 members), and "Erk" ("Freedom"), with 3,000 members. "Birlik" says that it has 500,000 supporters but has been denied registration.

Karimov described Gorbachev's quitting the Communist Party leadership after the putsch as a betrayal. Gorbachev promised to reform the party and millions of

people believed him, the Uzbek leader pointed out. He also said that he intends to carry out economic reform in Uzbekistan, but not as quickly as in the other republics that rushed to privatize industrial enterprises and "free" prices.

Despite Uzbekistan's proclamation of independence 31 August, the republic will stay in the Soviet Union as an equal among equals in the confederation of sovereign republics that Gorbachev favors, Karimov said. He added that a symbolic national guard of 700 men will be set up, but that an independent army will not be formed provided that the Kremlin consults Uzbekistan's leaders on military issues. Uzbekistan provides roughly one-third of the draftees. Karimov warned that if the republic is not consulted on defense issues, it will follow Georgia's example and stop sending young Uzbeks into the Soviet Army.